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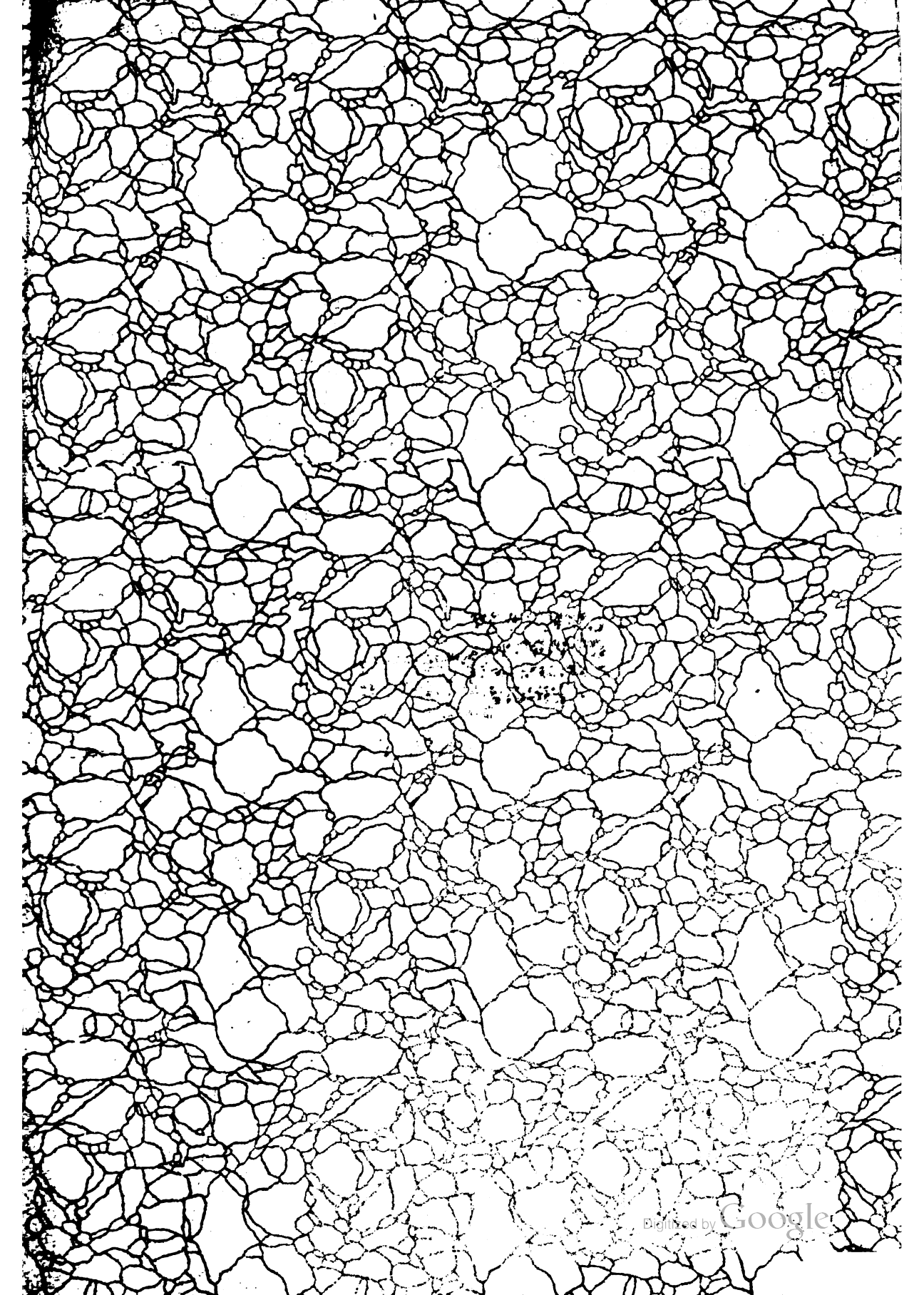
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ASSYRIAN STONE HEAD

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IDEAS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED
CIVILIZATION, IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS,
TRANSLATED

EDITOR IN CHIEF DR. OLIVER J. THATCHER ^{sr}
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VOLUME I
THE ANCIENT WORLD



EDITION DE LUXE

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ASSYRIAN ROCK SCULPTURE

INDIAN JOURNAL OF MATHEMATICS



PREFACE

IT IS THE PURPOSE of this work to present the ideas that have influenced civilization in the words of the men or the documents that have developed them.

The work embraces the religious beliefs of the past, as expressed and enforced by the seers who have given them to the world; the theories of philosophy in the expositions of their originators; the marvelous discoveries and inductions of the natural sciences as expounded by the men who have first seen the truths beneath the facts; the development of the social sciences and of law, government, education, and industry in the monographs which have championed their principles, and the documents which have exhibited their practices; and, finally, the great movements which have made manifest the pulse beat of the ages, as they have been caught and held living in the kinetograph-like records of the best contemporary observers.

It has been our principle that it is much more satisfactory for the reader to examine at first hand the results of the men who have influenced the thought and life of the world, than it is to study some critic's metaphysical essay upon another man's work. The best of all histories would be merely a collection of the most important original sources with accessory notes and facts. This may be impracticable as applied to an ordinary history of events, but as regards an account of the growth of civilization, where the illustrative source is itself apt to be a masterpiece deserving the deepest study and of the liveliest interest, a second-hand narrative can only spoil the drama and deaden the interest.

With this principle in view, starting from the earliest historic time, we have collected those documents in which the world's thinkers have embodied the ideas and discoveries which have given man control over

nature and himself, and by linking them together in practically chronological order with introductions and biographies, we have made a history, the student of which, may, so to speak, begin to live five thousand years ago and think and feel what man has thought and felt down the ages.

The character of the work fits it to be what few sets of books are, a reading library that is valuable for reference, and a reference work which it is interesting to read. It need not be argued that containing, as it does, the most important of the world's ideas, it is nothing less than an encyclopedia of man's greatest thought, and it is also self-evident that any work of this nature, every page of which is fraught with suggestion, must be of fascinating interest to any one who is at all concerned with the march of human progress.

The work is especially important from an historical, and from an educational point of view.

In dealing with the work from an historical standpoint we have attempted to include all of the best sources of our knowledge bearing upon the growth of civilization which are at once historically important and preserved in such shape as to throw vivid light upon the life, customs and ideas of the time. We have already mentioned that in our conception the best history of all, would be one made up of original documents linked together and helped out with additional notes and facts. We have given, so far as we know, the only general collection of such historical sources extant, but the work is more than simply a collection of sources. We have introduced each important subject with a brief sketch, which gives a setting to the documents which illustrate it. We have given a short introductory biography of every great thinker. Taken all in all we have tried to make a history of civilization which will illustrate itself.

We believe, too, that the most important part of historical study, and the truest of all histories, is that which treats of the changes not merely of kings, and queens, and dynasties, of happenings of war and bloodshed, of court intrigue, and the pomp and pageantry of brilliant

nothingness, but of the growth of man's ideas, his institutions, and knowledge of the facts of nature which make up the essential part of the existence of the present age. We believe that anyone who has lived through the life, feeling and thought of the past has received that truly historical education which fits him for the life of the future.

This leads us to say that we consider the work to contain as many possibilities from an educational standpoint, as any published in years. It is more than a history; it is an education. It is not intended to take the place of schools or text books, but it is intended to put in vivid form, in the shape of illustrative masterpieces which can never grow old, the slow increase one by one of the fund of ideas which should be every man's capital in his struggle to do what little he can to make himself and his community wiser or better.

Education is a training for the future, but the only education which we can give is to help the student catch up with the past. The child that stands upon a tall man's shoulder may be able too see farther than the man, and if we of to-day can take our stand upon the shoulders of the great original thinkers of the past, it may be that some of us will be able to see farther into the mysteries of the world than have they.

EDITOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ALTHOUGH THE EDITOR only is responsible for the matter included in this set of books, yet he has been greatly assisted by the suggestions he has received from specialists in their own fields. It is impossible to give full credit for such advice, but the editor takes this opportunity to acknowledge the important counsel or additional suggestions received from:

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ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

	PAGE
Assyrian Stone Head - - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Assyrian Rock Sculpture - - -	2
Assyrian Bronze Plate - - - -	9
Assyrian Bas-Relief - - - -	16
The Flood - - - - (From a wood cut after Dore)	23
Gate at Karnac, Egypt - - - -	39
Egyptian Hieroglyphics on Papyrus Containing "Book of the Dead" - - - -	48
Papyrus of Ani, Showing Funeral Procession (British Museum) - - - -	61
A Rock and a Stele Bearing Egyptian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions - - - -	85
The Kailasa at Ellora, East Indies - - -	219
Ikegami Temple Showing Boxes Containing Buddhist Scriptures (Japan) - - - -	255
Temple of the 500 Genii (China) - - -	291
Tomb of Nakshi-Rustam, Persia - - -	354
Cuneiform Inscription of Darius - - -	369
Ancient Tombs of Persian Kings - - -	375

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOL. I.

ASSYRIA—BABYLONIA	9
THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF CREATION	
THE CHALDAEAN FLOOD STORY	
THE LEGEND OF SARGON	
ISHTAR'S DESCENT INTO THE NETHER WORLD	
PENITENTIAL HYMNS	
LAWS	
 EGYPT	 29
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD	29
HYMN TO THE NILE	79
"FIRST HAND OBSERVATIONS", BY HERODOTUS	83
 THE JEWS	
REFERENCES	107
 THE BRAHMANS	 108
VEDIC HYMNS	109
Hymn to the Unknown God	
Hymn to Vata	
Hymn to Agni and the Maruts	
Hymn to the Maruts	

Hymn to the Maruts	
Hymn to Rudra	
Hymn to Vayu	
Hymn to Agni and the Maruts	
Hymn to Rudra	
THE KATHA UPANISHAD	116
TEACHING OF YAGNAVALKYA (BRHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD)	127
THE KHANDOGYA UPANISHAD	162
LAWS OF MANU	195
The Beginnings of Things	
Laws of the Castes	
The Transmigration of Souls	
 BUDDHIST IDEAS	 219
FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS	220
ON KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS	225
ALL THE ASAVAS	245
THE LAST DAYS OF BUDDHA	253
DHAMMAPADA	322
 ZARATHUSTRA (Zoroaster)	 354
GATHA AHUNAVAITI	354
GATHA USTAVAITI	371
 K'UNG-FU-TSZE (Confucius)	 382
SAYINGS	382

ASSYRIAN BRONZE PLATE





ASSYRIA—BABYLONIA

THE IDEAS OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS are particularly interesting because they so closely resemble those of the Jews. The selections here offered illustrate this resemblance while expressing the most important ideas and conceptions of these most ancient peoples.

BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF CREATION

(Tablets in British Museum.)

LONG AGO when the heaven above had not been named and the earth beneath had no name, and only Apsu (the Ocean), the primeval, who begot them, and Tiamat, Confusion, who bore them both, existed—their waters mingled—and when no fields were formed, and no reeds to be seen, when not one of the gods had been called into being and named, and no fates had been decreed, then were created all the gods. Luchmu and Lachamu were the first to be called into being. Ages passed, then Anshar and Kishar were created, and long days before Anu, Bel, and Ea were created.

(Apsu and Tiamat having determined to destroy the light and restore the primeval darkness, a struggle ensues.)

Anshar opened his mouth and said to Gaga his minister, "Go, Gaga, minister, that rejoicest my spirit, to Luchmu and Lachamu I

send thee. Assemble all the gods, seat them at the table to partake of a feast. Let them eat bread and mix wine. Go, Gaga, and stand before them then, and all that I tell thee, repeat to them, saying: Anshar your son has sent me, his heart's command he entrusted to me saying: 'Tiamat, our mother, has turned against us in hatred. With all her might she rages in anger. All the gods have turned to her, even those you created go to her aid. They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance. Cursing the light they follow Tiamat. Furious, without resting by day or by night they prepare for the fray, fuming and raging, they band themselves together and begin the revolt. Tiamat, the mother of the deep, who bore us all, has added invincible weapons, spawning monster serpents, sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang. For blood she filled their bodies with poison. Fierce monster-vipers she clothed with terror, endowed with awful splendor, and made.....

She clothed fierce monster-vipers with terror, endowed them with dread splendor, and made great of stature, that their appearance might frighten and fill with horror. Their bodies are immense, their attack irresistible. She made a viper, a dragon, and the lachamu, a storm-giant, a mad dog, a scorpion-man, fierce storms, a fish-man, and a ram; all provided with weapons, merciless, fearless of fight, defiant of heart, invincible. Besides creating thus these eleven, she exalted among the gods the sons she had born, and made Kingu greatest among them all, saying:

'Thou art sent to march at the head of the forces, to order the weapons to strike, the attack to begin.' She entrusted to him the first place in war and in victory. She seated him on a throne and said: 'I have recited thy spell, in the assembly of the gods. I have raised thee to power, I have given thee the sway over all the gods. Be thou great, my spouse, thy name be magnified in all the world.' She gave him the tablets of destiny and laid them on his breast, saying: 'May thy command not be annulled, established be the word of thy mouth.' Kingu, thus exalted, and having obtained power over the gods, commanded: 'Let your word overcome the fire god. Whoever is great in valor, let him display his might.' I sent Anu but he feared to face her. Nudimmud was afraid and turned back. I have called on Marduk, adviser of the gods. He has determined to go against Tiamat. He spoke to me and said: 'If I, your avenger, conquer Tiamat and give you life, assemble the gods and declare my control of the gods to be supreme. Enter joyfully into the palace and my

rule shall take the place of thine. Let whatever I do be unaltered. The word of my mouth not be changed or annulled.' Hasten and give him the rule that he may go and fight your enemy.'"

When Luchmu and Lachamu heard this, they feared and all the gods wailed grievously, saying: "What has happened that they hate us? We do not understand the conduct of Tiamat." Then they came together, all the gods and went into the great hall before Anshar. They took courage and sat down to the banquet; they ate bread and mixed wine. The sweet drink, the mead, overcame their senses, they became drunk, their bodies were filled with wine. They lost their reason, their spirits rose and they gave the rule to Marduk their avenger.

And they (the gods) put him (Marduk) in a royal palace;
Under the protection of his father he dwelt (lived) in (his) kingdom.

Yea, thou art glorious among the great gods.

Thy work is unequalled, thy command is (the command of) Anu.

O Marduk, thou art glorious, indeed, among the great gods.

Thy work is unequalled, thy command is (the command of) Anu.

From to-day thy command shall be unalterable.

To exalt and to humble be in thy power.

Verily, thy word be firm, be thy command not resisted.

None among the gods has surpassed thy power,

(Though with) decorations be filled the shrine of the(se) gods.

The place of their gathering may it now be established in thy place,
(where they will say unto thee):

"O Marduk, thou art, indeed, he who has become our avenger (against
Tiamat);

We have given thee the kingdom, the rule of the whole universe."

When thou art in the assembly (of the gods), may thy will prevail
against all.

Thy weapons may never be broken, may thy enemies tremble.

O Lord, spare thou the life of him that trusteth in thee.

But the god that is wedded to evil, pour out his life's blood.

(His) word (command) they set up in their midst as unique (i. e., all-
important)

Unto Marduk, their first-born, they spake:

Thy work, O Lord, be greater than that of the (other) gods;

To destroy and to create, speak and it shall done.

Open thy mouth, and his (perhaps the evil god's) word shall vanish
away (i. e., be made powerless).

Speak then again to him and his word shall be restored."

He (Marduk) spake, and in his mouth (i. e., that of the god who doeth evil) was destroyed his (power of) speech.

Again he spake unto him and his speech was restored unto him (literally "created").

When the gods, his fathers, saw the effect of his (Marduk's) word,

They rejoiced greeting him: "Marduk indeed be (our) king"!

They invested him with the scepter, the throne, and the reign;

A weapon unsurpassed they gave him, consuming the enemy.

"Go now (they said unto him) and cut asunder the life-thread of Tiamat;

May the winds carry her blood to secret places" (i. e., far away).

The gods, his fathers, fixed the fate of the lord (Marduk).

They led him the road to safety and success.

A bow he made himself and took it for his weapon,

The falchion he swung that he had made of (the wood) of the terebinth.

The god took up the weapon, seized it with his right hand,

The bow and the quiver at his side he hung;

A lightning he caused to go before him,

With destructive (fierce) wrath he filled his bowels.

A net he made to enclose Kirbish-Tiamat.

The four winds he seized, so that she could by no means escape,

The wind from the south (and) the north, the east (and) the west.

Then he brought to her (Tiamat's) side the net, the present of his father, Anu.

He created the destructive wind, the evil wind, the storm, and the hurricane;

The four winds, the seven winds, the whirlwind, the wind whose equal does not exist.

He caused the winds, he had created, to issue forth, even the seven of them,

To work the destruction of Kirbish-Tiamat, to storm behind her;

And the lord raised his mighty weapon, the hurricane.

The chariot, something unequalled, the terrible, he mounted;

He harnessed it and hung the four reins over the side (i. e., of the chariot, in order to have his hands free).

The weapon, the relentless, the overwhelming, the swift,

[to fight those?] whose fangs carry poison.

(meaning the fangs of the dragons, the host of Tiamat.)

. they know how to overthrow.

. terrible [was] the battle.
 He took to his way and caused [her] pursuit;
 To the place of Tiamat he turned (his face).
 With her lips she cried out aloud;
 When fright [befell her], she seized his fist.
 In that day they beheld him, the gods beheld him;
 The gods, his fathers, beheld him, the gods beheld him.
 The lord approached for the fight, Tiamat he saw.
 Of Kingu, her husband, he sought his overthrow.
 When he (Kingu) beheld him, his reason became disturbed,
 His mind distracted, his actions confused.
 And the gods, his helpers, walking at his side,
 Saw [how] the first-born bore their yoke (i. e., exposed himself to
 dangers for their sake),
 [Knowing?] that Tiamat did not turn her neck (i. e., did not turn to
 flight)
 But with her lips cried out an abundance of evil, (and they said:)
 "Around thee, O lord of the gods, cometh her host,
 Their throng they gather, where thou art."
 But the lord lifted up the hurricane, his mighty weapon,
 Against Kirbish-Tiamat, on whom he takes vengeance he hurled it.
 saying:
 "[As thou didst excite rebellion on high,
 Now gather courage and give resistance."]
 "As thou didst direct thy evil deed against my fathers,
 Therefore may be tied down thy army, and thy weapons may they be
 bound (i. e., made harmless).
 Stand! and I and thou will fight together."
 But Tiamat upon hearing this,
 Considered herself defeated and lost her balance of mind.
 She roared wildly (and) loud;
 Completely her inside burst into two parts.
 Magic words she spake and applied her (?) incantation.
 They, then, made their weapons appeal to the gods of battle.
 They approached each other, Tiamat and the leader of the gods, Mar-
 duk.
 To the fight they approached against one another, they approached for the
 battle.
 But the lord spread out his net, to enclose her;
 An evil wind, to seize her from behind, he let loose before him;

Then opened her mouth Tiamat to crush it(i. e., to swallow the evil wind).

But he Marduk caused the evil wind to enter (her mouth) so that she could not shut her lips.

The strong winds filled her stomach,

So that her heart sank (i. e., she lost courage); wide opened he her mouth,

He grasped his falchion and pierced (split open) her stomach;

Her entrails he tore out, cut out (her) heart.

He grasped her and destroyed her life.

Her corpse he threw down, upon it he placed himself.

After Tiamat, the leader had been killed,

Her host was broken up, her throng was scattered,

And the gods her helpers, going at her side,

Trembled, feared, and retreated backward.

He (Marduk) let them escape and spared their life;

With a cordon they were surrounded which no one can escape;

He enclosed them and their weapons he broke.

They were placed (like birds) in a net; they sat down in utter prostration.

And the world (literally: the regions) they filled with their wailing.

They bore his punishment, they were kept in bondage,

And the eleven creatures were filled with fear.

.

He put their hands in bonds,

And their opposition beneath himself he trod.

And Kingu who against [Marduk had been] their [leader?],

He bound him; with the bound gods he counted him.

He took away from him the tablets of fate.

With his seal he doomed him (literally: he sealed him), his breast (?) he seized.

After he had bound his enemy,

And crushed the proud foe completely,

He fully established the superiority of AN-SAR over the enemy.

Marduk, the mighty, had thus accomplished the intention of god Ea.

Over the gods in bondage he strengthened the guard.

Toward Tiamat, then, whom he had overcome, he turned back,

And the lord trampled on the lower part of Tiamat's body. ..

With his unmerciful club he smote her,

He cut through the veins of her blood;

The wind, even the wind of the north, he caused it to carry to secret places (i. e., far away).

He saw it, his face rejoiced, he gloried.

A present, a peace offering he caused to be brought to him.

Then the lord quieted down, seeing her (Tiamat's) corpse.

The foul, rotten flesh he tore away, and he performed wonderful deeds.

He tore from her like of a fish her skin in (its) two halves.

Half of her he stood up, and made it the heavenly dome.

He pushed (in front of it) a bolt; he stationed a guard;

And commanded him not to let the waters pour out (too freely?).

He connected the heaven with the (lower) regions,

And placed it opposite to the primeval sea, the dwelling of god Ea.

Then the lord measured off the circui i. e., circuit) of the primeval sea.

A palace he build like that (i. e., like heaven) namely E-shar-ra,

The palace E-shar-ra which he had built as a heavenly dome.

Anum, Bel (and) Ea he caused to inhabit it as their habitation.

He (i. e., Marduk) established the mansions of the great gods.

The stars, corresponding to them, he fixed, and the annual constellations.

He determined (the length of) the year, (its) limits he defined.

(For) each of the twelve months three stars he fixed,

From the time when the year opens in fixed limits.

He founded the mansion of Jupiter, to mark their bounds.

That none (of the days) might deviate, nor be found lacking.

The mansion of Bel and Ea (i. e., the north pole and the south pole) he established with him (i. e., with Jupiter).

He opened gates at both sides,

And forced open the bolts on the left and the right.

In the very midst he made the morning firmament (or the zenith?).

He made the moon-god (Nannaru) brilliant, (and) intrusted the night to him.

He defined him as a night-body, to mark off the days (saying):

"Monthly without ceasing define (the time) with the disc;

In the beginning of the month light up in the evening,

That the horns shine to mark the heavens.

On the seventh day make half the royal cap (i. e., show one-half of the disc).

On the fourteenth mayest thou mark the half of the month."

TRANSLATED BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

CHALDAEAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE

(Tablets in British Museum.)

GILGAMESH spake to him, even to Pernāpishtim the remote;
 "I look up to thee (with amazement), Pernāpishtim;
 Thy appearance has not changed, like unto me art thou.
 And thou thyself art not changed, like unto me art thou,
 Although thou didst depart from this life. But my heart has still to
 struggle
 against all that no longer lies upon thee.
 Tell me how thou didst come to dwell (here) and obtain life in the
 assembly of the gods."

Pernāpishtim, then, spake to him, even to Gilgamesh:
 "I will disclose unto thee, Gilgamesh, the hidden story,
 and the oracle of the gods I will tell thee.
 The city of Shurippak, a city which, as thou knowest, is situated on
 the bank of the river Euphrates,
 This city was ancient (already), when the gods within
 set their hearts to bring a deluge (literally, a cyclone), even the great
 gods,
 as many as] there were: their father Anu, their counsellor, the war-
 like Bel
 their leader Adar, their champion the god En-nu-gi.
 But god Ea, the lord of the unfathomable wisdom, argued with them,
 Their plan he announced to the forest (calling), "Forest, forest, town,
 town;
 Forest hear, and town pay attention:
 O man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu
 Build a house, construct a vessel; leave thy possessions, save thy life
 (literally: lives),
 Leave thy property, but save (thy) life;
 B'id the seed of life of every kind to mount into the ship.
 The ship, that thou shalt build, let her proportions be measured (i. e.,
 have a design made);
 Her width and her length be equal. Into the sea then launch her."
 (These words Atrachasis heard in a dream-oracle).

ASSYRIAN BASS-RELIEF
At the Entrance of a Small Temple.

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When I perceived them, I said to Ea, my lord:
 "I will build, my lord, as thou didst command,
 I will observe it, I will perform it.
 But what shall I answer to (the inquiries of) the city, the people, and
 the elders?"
 Ea, opening his mouth, spake saying to his servant, to me:
 "As an answer say thus unto them: I know the god Bel is hostile to
 me;
 Not can I (longer) live in your city. On Bel's earth I dare not live
 securely.
 I will go] down to the sea, with Ea, my lord, I will live.
 Upon you he (Bel) will (for a time) pour down rich blessing,
 Will grant you] fowl [in plenty] and ab[undance] of fish,
 A multitude of cattle and abundance] of harvest.
 But when he who lights up the darkness sends an appointed sign,
 He will pour down upon you] a destructive rain.
 On the following morning, at day-break I
 The light I feared;
 The earth (i. e., terra firma) [I desired to leave]; all that was needed
 I collected.
 On the fifth day I drew its (the vessel's) design.
 In its circuit 120 cubits were high its sides;
 120 cubits measured the length of its beam.
 I added a front-roof, and closed it in.
 I built it in 6 divisions, thus making seven stories.
 Its interior I divided again in 9 partitions.
 (thus making in all 63 divisions, 9 on each of the 7 stories).
 Beaks for water within I cut off;
 I selected a mast and added what was wanting.
 Three sars of pitch I poured out on the outside;
 Three sars of naphta I distributed in its interior; (so as to make every-
 thing water-tight).
 Three sars (?) of men, carriers of baskets, carried the oil (i. e., food?)
 One sar of oil I reserved which the people might eat(?)
 While the two other sars the boatman stowed away.
 In the temples (?) I slaughtered oxen,
 [Killed lambs day by day,
 Jugs of cider (!) and oil and sweet wine,
 Large bowls (!) [filled with drinkables] like river water (i. e., freely
 I poured out in libations).

A feast (to the gods) I made such as is held on great religious festivals.
 [To god Shamash] my hand put down the food (i. e., the sacrifice).
 [On the seventh day?] the ship was finished.

. heavy it was, and
 The tackling above and below I added; [and after everything was
 completed]

[The ship sank into water] two-thirds of its height (i. e., 80 cubits).
 With all that I had, I laded it; with all that I had of silver, I laded it;
 With all that I had of gold, I laded it;
 With all that I had of the seed of life, I laded it;
 I embarked all my family and my servants;
 The cattle, the beasts of the field, and the workmen [who had assisted
 me], them all I embarked.

A sign Shamash had agreed upon (namely:)

"When he who (usually) lights up the darkness will send in the even-
 ing a destructive rain,

Then enter into the ship and close thy door."

(a variant reading says: thy ship).

This (very) sign came to pass;
 He who lights up the darkness, sent a destructive rain in the evening.
 Of the day I feared its dawn;
 The day to behold I was afraid;
 I entered into the ship, and closed my door.
 The guidance of the ship I gave unto Buzur-shadu-rabu, the boatman,
 The great house (the ship) together with its contents.

As soon as dawn appeared,
 There rose from the north a dark cloud.
 The weather god (Ramman) thundered in its midst.
 God Nebo and god, the king, went in front of him.
 There came they that oppress mountain and country.
 God Uragal tore loose the anchor.
 There came (also) Adar, storm he poured down.
 The gods the Anunnaki lifted on high (their) torches,
 With whose light they illuminate the land.
 The storm, excited by Ramman, reached up to heaven.
 All light was turned into darkness.
 He overflowed the land like [. . .], he devastated.
 With violence he blew and in one (?) day the storm rose above the
 mountains.

Like as an onslaught in battle it came against the people.
 Not could brother see his brother, not did recognize one another the
 people;
 Even in heaven the gods were afraid of the deluge;
 They retired, went up to the heaven of god Anu (i. e., the sky).
 There the gods crouched down like as dogs, on the surrounding walls
 (perhaps "the firmament,") they sat down.
 Then cried out Ishtar full of wrath (variant: like a woman in travail);
 There called out the goddess, the lofty, she whose cry is powerful:
 This people (?) has been turned into clay, and
 The evil that I have predicted before (or in the assembly of) the gods,
 As I have predicted the evil in the assembly of the gods,
 (It has come about namely:)
 To destroy my people completely, I predicted the storm.
 But I will bear my people again (i. e., bring them to life again),
 Though now, like young fishes, they fill the sea.
 The gods wailed with her over the Anunnaki;
 The gods sat there bowed down in weeping;
 Their lips were pressed together (in fear and in terror).
 Six days and (seven) nights continued the storm,
 Raged cyclone and tempest.
 When the seventh day arrived that (fearful) cyclone ceased, the battle
 Which they had fought like as a battle-army rested;
 The waters of the deep narrowed down (sank), the terrible storm, the
 deluge, was at an end.
 I looked up over the sea and raised my voice.
 But the whole race had returned to the clay.
 Like as the surrounding field had become the bed of the rivers.
 (i.e., no difference could be seen, everything was covered with water).
 I opened an air-hole and light fell upon my cheeks;
 Dazzled I sank backward, sitting down weeping,
 Down my cheeks flowed my tears.
 I looked up: "The world a wide ocean!" (I cried).
 On the twelfth (day?) there arose (out of the water) a strip of land.
 On Mount Nicir the ship settled.
 The mountain of the land Nicir took hold of the ship and did not let
 it move again.
 One day, two days, Mount Nicir took hold of the ship and did not let
 it move again.
 The third and fourth day Mount Nicir, the same.

The same on the fifth and sixth day.
On the seventh day, in the morning,
I let go a dove; she flew hither and thither,
But as there was no place of rest for her, she returned.
I then sent out a swallow, the bird left, it also flew hither and thither,
And returned again, as there was no place of rest.
At last I sent out a raven, it left;
The raven went and saw the decrease of the waters.
It settled down to feed (either on the carcasses still floating about or
on the slimy mud), went off, and no more returned.
Then I disembarked and to the four winds I offered a sacrifice.
A peace-offering I made upon the height of the mountain.
Each time I placed seven censers,
Poured into them calmus, cedar-wood, and sweet-smelling lollium.
The gods inhaled the savor, yea the gods inhaled the sweet savor;
The gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer.
But when now the lofty goddess arrived,
She took the great lightnings of Anu and did according to her desire.
"These gods! (she said) not, by my necklace, will I forget;
These days will I remember for ever, not will I forget;
The gods may come to the sacrifice,
But Bel shall not come to the sacrifice,
Because rashly did he cause the deluge
And delivered my people to destruction."
But when god Bel arrived,
He saw the vessel and grew angry, wrath filled his heart against the
gods, the Igigi (and he said):
"What soul has escaped here; no man must survive the universal de-
struction."
God Adar opened his mouth and spake, saying unto Bel, the warlike:
"Who beside Ea could have thought this out,
But Ea knows everything."
Ea opened his mouth and spake, saying unto Bel, the warlike:
"Thou, mighty among the gods, warrior,
Thus, thus rashly hast thou caused the deluge.
May the sinner bear his sin's reward, and the wicked his wickedness.
Be lenient, let not (all) be crushed; be merciful, let not (everything)
be destroyed.
Instead of causing a flood, lions might have come and diminished
mankind;

Instead of causing a flood, hyenas might have come and diminished mankind;
 Instead of causing a flood, famine might have arisen and seized the land;
 Instead of causing a flood, pestilence might be brought about and killed the people.
 I did not reveal the decision of the great gods.
 Atrachasis I let see (it) in a dream, the decision of the gods he heard."
 Then came Bel to his senses, Bel mounted to the ship,
 Took me by the hand and raised me up.
 He raised up and placed my wife at my side.
 Then he turned toward us, sat down between us and blessed us, saying:
 "Ere this Pernapishtim was a man;
 Now Pernapishtim and his wife shall be like unto the gods and lifted up on high;
 Let Pernapishtim live afar off at the mouth of the (two?) rivers."
 And he took us and made us dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers.

TRANSLATED BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

THE LEGEND OF SARGON

(Tablets in British Museum.)

3800 B. C.

(Compare the similar stories of Perseus, of Romulus and Remus, and of Moses.)

SARGON, the mighty king, the king of Agade, am I.
 My mother was a princess, my father I knew not, my father's brother dwelt in the mountain.
 My city is Azupiranu, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates.
 My mother, the princess, conceived me, in a secret place she gave me birth.
 She placed me in a basket of reeds and closed the lid with pitch.
 She cast me into the river which overwhelmed me not.
 The river bore me along. To Akki, the irrigator, it brought me.
 Akki, the irrigator, reared me to boyhood as his own son.
 Akki, the irrigator, made me his gardener.
 And in my gardenership the goddess Ishtar loved me.
 * * * * * for four years I ruled the kingdom.

ISHTAR'S DESCENT INTO HADES.

UNTO THE LAND whence none return, the place of gloom,
 Ishtar, the Moon-god's daughter, set her firm resolve,
 Yea, she herself, the Moon-god's daughter, set her mind
 Unto the house of darkness and Irkalla's seat;
 That house from whose grim portals none can issue more;
 That road whose course permits no step to be retraced;
 That home whose inmates are forever barred the light,
 And all the food they may consume is dust and clay,
 Light they behold not, but in deepest darkness dwell,
 Clad in feathery shroud like dim and spectral birds;
 And round the doorway and its bolts the dust lies heaped.
 So soon as Ishtar reached the land whence none return,
 She cried unto the warder of the gate, "What, ho!
 Open thy gate, open, I say, and let me in;
 For, if thou open not, and let me straight pass through,
 I will strike down the door, shattering its every lock;
 I will assail the threshold and by force break in;
 Yea, I will raise the dead to feast on those that live;
 Out numbered shall the living be by all the dead!"
 Then opened the warder of the gate his lips, and spake;
 Addressing the great princess Ishtar, thus he said,
 "Hold, Lady, hold, strike not the gate unto the ground,
 But let me go and bear thy name before the Queen."
 So passed he to the lady of the Ample Land.
 "Behold, O Queen, thy sister Ishtar stands without,
 Trying the mighty barriers of the portals there."
 To which the Lady of the Ample Land replied,
 "Like some frail herb that sinks beneath the scythe, she comes,
 And utters prayers as with the lips of drooping reeds.
 What has possessed her mind, what seized her heart, to say,
 'Ah! let me weep the heroes who have left their wives,
 The young wives let me weep, snatched from the bridegroom's clasp,
 The tender babe cut off, his life-day at its dawn!'

THE FLOOD

From a wood cut after Dore

CONTENTS
CONTENTS



Yet, warder, go; fling wide the opening of the gates for her,
And, as old rule requires, strip her of all she wears!
Then went the warder and unbarred his gate and cried,
"Pass, Lady, through. May death's dark city welcome thee,
And, at thy face, the palace of this land grow glad!"
Through the first gate he led her then, and closed it fast;
He took the mighty diadem from off her head.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the crown from off my head?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the second gate, and closed it fast;
He took away the jewelled earrings from her ears.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the earrings from my ears?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the third gate and closed it fast;
He took away the golden chains about her neck.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the chains from my neck?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the fourth gate and closed it fast;
He took away the ornaments of her breast.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the ornaments off my breast?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the fifth gate and closed it fast.
He took away the studded girdle off her waist.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the girdle off my waist?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the sixth gate and closed it fast.
He took away her bracelets and anklets.
'Why, Warder, takest thou my bracelets and anklets?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
Then led he through the seventh gate and closed it fast.
He took away the garment covering her nakedness.
'Why, Warder, takest thou the garment covering my nakedness?'
'Enter; for so, O Lady, bids the Great Land's Queen.'
As soon as Ishtar entered the land whence none return,
Allatu saw her and agrily approached her.
Ishtar took no thought but threw herself upon Allatu.
Then Allatu spoke to Namtar, her messenger,
"Go, open my gate and cast forth Ishtar.
With disease of the eyes strike her.
With disease of the loins strike her."

With disease of the legs strike her.

With disease of the heart strike her.

Her whole body strike with disease."

After Ishtar entered the land whence none return,

The bull did not serve the cow nor the ass the she-ass.

No male approached the female.

The Messenger of the Gods, with face cast down before the Sun-god,

Was clothed in sack-cloth and was filled with grief.

The Sun-god went and stood before his sire, the Moon,

Yea, in the presence of King Ea flowed his tears;

"Ishtar," he cried, "from deeps of earth returns no more.

Since Ishtar has entered the land whence none return,

The bull has not served the cow nor the ass the she-ass.

No male has approached the female."

Then spoke King Ea to the Phantom, servant of the gods, saying,

"Go, set thy face toward the gate of the land whence none return.

The seven gates of the land shall open before thee,

Allatu shall see thee and rejoice at thy arrival.

When her heart is at peace and she is glad

Conjure her in the name of the gods;

Hold up thy head and ask for the water-skin,

'If it please thee, Lady, give me the water-skin that I may drink.'"

When Allatu heard this she smote her thigh and bit her finger-nails;

"Thou seekest a favor which can not be granted.

Begone, O Phantom, I will curse thee with an awful curse.

The filth of the city's sewage be thy food,

The water of the city's gutters be thy drink,

Outside the threshold be thy dwelling-place,

Thy strength decay in dungeon vile and prison-house!"

Allatu spoke to her messenger, the Plague-demon, saying,

"Go, Demon of the Plague, and the strong palace smite!

Shatter the thresholds that upbear the lofty stones!

Bring the Earth-spirits forth, seat them on thrones of gold!

Then sprinkle Ishtar with the water of life and drive her from my presence."

Then the Plague-Demon went and smote the strong palace,

He shattered the thresholds that upbore the lofty stones.

He brought forth the Earth-spirits and seated them on thrones of gold.

He sprinkled Ishtar with the water of life and led her forth.

He led her through the first gate and gave back the garment cover-

ing her nakedness.

He led her through the second gate and gave back her bracelets and anklets.

He led her through the third gate and gave back the studded girdle of her waist.

He led her through the fourth gate and gave back the ornaments of her breast.

He led her through the fifth gate and gave back the chains about her neck.

He led her through the sixth gate and gave back the jewelled earrings of her ears.

He led her through the seventh gate and gave back the mighty diadem of her head.

PENITENTIAL PSALMS

O MY GOD, whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are many,
great are my transgressions.

O my goddess, whom I know and whom I know not, my sins are
many, great are my transgressions.

The sin that I sinned I knew not.

The transgression wherein I transgressed I knew not.

The lord in the wrath of his heart has looked upon me.

The god in the fierceness of his heart has revealed himself to me.

The goddess has been violent against me and put me to grief.

I seek for help, and none takes my hand.

I weep, and none draws near to my side.

I cry aloud, and there is none that hears me.

I am in trouble and hiding, my face is cast down.

To the god, the merciful one, I turn, I utter my prayer;

The feet of my goddess I kiss and water with tears.

O lord, destroy not thy servant;

When cast into the waters take thou his hand.

The sins that I have sinned turn thou into blessing.

The transgressions I have committed, let the wind sweep them away.

TRANSLATIONS BY H. S. ROBERTSON, "VOICES OF THE PAST."

The Priest speaks :

In sorrow there he sits, with cries of affliction, in trouble of heart. With bitter tears, in bitter sorrow, like the doves he moans grievously, night and day. Unto his merciful god, like a wild cow, he cries, he makes a grievous sighing. Before his god he casts down his face in supplication. He weeps that he may approach, that nothing may hold him back.

The Penitent speaks :

My deed will I declare, my deed which cannot be declared. My words will I repeat, my words which cannot be repeated. O my god, my deed will I declare, my deed which can not be declared.

O my god, who art angry, accept my prayer. O my goddess, who art angry, receive my supplication. Receive my supplication and let thy spirit be at rest. O my goddess, look with pity on me and accept my supplication. Let my sins be forgiven, let my transgressions be blotted out. Let the ban be torn away, let the bonds be loosened. Let the seven winds carry away my sighs. I will rend away my wickedness, let the bird bear it to the heavens. Let the fish carry off my misery, let the river sweep it away. Let the beast of the field take it from me. Let the flowing waters of the river wash me clean.

O mother of the gods, who fulfills their commands, O lady of mankind, who makes the green herb to spring up, who created all things, who guides the whole of creation, O mother Ishtar, whose side no god can approach, O exalted lady, whose command is mighty, a prayer will I utter. That which appears good unto her, may she do unto me. O my lady, from the days of my youth I have been much yoked to misfortune. Food have I not eaten, weeping was my nourishment. Water have I not drunk, tears were my drink. My heart never rejoices, my spirit is never glad.

The Penitent: I, thy servant, full of sighs, cry unto thee. Who-soever has sinned, thou acceptest his fervent prayer. The man on whom thou lookest in pity, that man lives, O ruler of all things, lady of mankind, O merciful one, whose turning is propitious, who acceptest

supplication.

The Priest: Since his god and his goddess are angry with him, he cries unto thee. Turn to him thy countenance and take his hand.

The Penitent: Beside thee, there is no deity that guides aright. In justice look on me with pity and accept my supplication. Declare my forgiveness and let thy spirit be appeased. When, O my lady, will thy countenance be turned? I moan like the doves, I satiate myself with sighs.

The Priest: With pain and grief his spirit is oppressed. He sheds tears, he utters cries of woe.

TRANSLATIONS OF L. W. KING, "BABYLONIAN RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY."

LAWS

A. ANCIENT BABYLONIAN LAWS

BE IT ENACTED forever and for all time: If a son says to his father, "Thou art not my father," he can shear his locks, make him a slave and sell him.—If a son says to his mother, "Thou art not my mother," she can shear his locks, drive him out of the town, or (at least) drive him away from home (i. e., she can deprive him of citizenship and of his inheritance, but not his liberty.)—If a father says to his son, "Thou art not my son," the latter has to leave the house and field (i. e., he loses his inheritance.)—If a mother says to her son, "Thou art not my son," he shall leave house and furniture.—If a wife is unfaithful to her husband and then says, "Thou art not my husband," let her be thrown into the river.—If a husband says to his wife, "Thou art not my wife," he shall pay a fine of half a maneh of silver.—If some one hires a servant and the latter dies or in some other way is rendered valueless (e. g., by flight, rebellion, or sickness) he shall give (to the owner) as daily wages ten measures of corn a day.

If an overseer or a fisherman when ordered to the service of the king does not come, but sends a hireling in his stead, that same overseer or fisherman shall be put to death, and his house shall pass into the possession of the hireling.

When a merchant gives to his clerk grain, wool, oil, or any other

merchandise for sale, the clerk shall give an exact account and turn in the money to the merchant; and the merchant shall give to the clerk a receipt for the money paid over to him.

When a man has bought a male or female slave, and the sale is opposed by a third party (the real owner) and the sale is in consequence thereof declared void, the seller of the slave has to pay all damages.

B. NEO-BABYLONIAN LAWS

If a man sells a slave-girl and another party proves just claims to her, and takes her away (from her present owner), the seller shall return the money to the buyer, exactly the same amount that his receipt calls for; if (in the meanwhile) she has borne children, he shall—in addition—pay for each child one-half shekel.

If a man, after having promised, either verbally or in writing, a certain dower to his daughter, loses part of his property, he can give his daughter a dower in accordance with the property as it is now, and neither father-in-law nor son-in-law shall go to law on that account.

If a man has given his daughter a dower, and the daughter dies without issue, the dower reverts to the house of her father.

If a woman, whose dower her husband has taken charge of, remains childless and loses her husband, her dower shall be returned to her in full out of her husband's estate. If her husband during his lifetime has presented her part of his property, she shall retain this also and still receive her own dower in full. But if she had no dower, the judge shall examine into the condition of her husband's estate and then give her a proper share of her late husband's property.

EGYPT

THE RELIGION OF EGYPT is best represented by the Book of the Dead. This consists of a large number of magical stanzas for the guidance and protection of the soul amid the perils and crises of the life in the Netherworld. Taken all in all, it gives a good insight into the beliefs of the Egyptian priests. The stanzas were originally intended, it is supposed, to be learned by rote during life, but later it was considered sufficient if the copies on papyrus were buried with the mummy. The greater part of the incantations may be dated from one to three thousand years before Christ.

How the Egyptian customs and the beliefs of the commoner people impressed a foreigner may be best seen in the description by Herodotus, written in the fifth century before our era. Plutarch, also, in his "Isis and Osiris" gives a later, but still early, account of the Egyptian religion.

BOOK OF THE DEAD

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING of the Chapters of Coming forth by day, of the Words which bring about Resurrection and Glory, and of Coming out of and entering into Amenta. Said upon the Day of Burial of N [the Deceased], the Victorious, who enters after coming forth. Here is N

the Victorious. He saith:

O Bull of Amenta, It is Thoth, the everlasting King, who is here.

I am the great god in the Bark, who have fought for thee.

I am one of these gods, the Powers who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries on the day of the Weighing of the Words: I am thy kinsman, Osiris.

I am one of those gods to whom Nut has given birth, who slay the adversaries of Osiris and imprison the Sebau, on his behalf: I am thy kinsman, Horus.

I have fought for thee, and have prevailed for thy name.

I am Thoth who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries on that day of Weighing of the Words in the House of the Prince, which is in Heliopolis.

I am Tatti, the son of Tatti, conceived in Tattu and born in Tattu; and Tattu is my name.

I am with the mourners and weepers who wail over Osiris in Rechit, and who effect the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

Ra issued the mandate of Thoth, that he should effect the triumph of Osiris against his adversaries, and the mandate is what Thoth hath executed.

I am with Horus on the day of covering Teshtesh and of opening the fountains for the refreshment of the god whose heart is motionless, and closing the entrance to the hidden things in Restau.

I am with Horus, as the avenger of that left arm of Osiris which is in Sechem.

I enter and I come forth from the Abode of Flame on the day when the adversaries are annihilated at Sechem.

I am with Horus on the day when the festivals of Osiris are celebrated, and when offerings are made [to Ra], on the Feast of the Sixth day of the Month, and on the Feast of Tenait in Heliopolis.

I am the Priest in Tattu and exalt him who is on the Height.

I am the Prophet in Abydos on the day when the earth is raised.

I am he who seeth what is shut up at Restau.

I am he who reciteth the liturgies of the Soul who is Lord of Tattu.

I am Sem-priest in all that pertaineth to his office.

I am the Arch-Craftsman, on the day in which the Ship of Sokaru is laid up its stocks.

I am he who siezeth the mattock, on the day of the Feast of Hoeing in Suten-henen.

O ye who bring beneficent souls into the house of Osiris, do ye bring the soul of *N* together with you into the house of Osiris; let him see as you see, let him hear as you hear, let him stand as you stand, and sit as you sit [in the house of Osiris].

O ye who give bread and beer to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, do ye give bread and beer at the two periods to the soul of *N* who is with you.

O ye who unclothe the ways and open the roads to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, unclothe then the ways and open the roads to the soul of *N* who is with you, let him enter boldly and come forth in peace at the house of Osiris, without hindrance and without repulse. Let him enter at his pleasure and go forth at his will, triumphantly with you; and let that be executed which he shall order in the house of Osiris.

No lightness of his in the scale has been found and the Balance is relieved of his case.

CHAPTER II.

Chapter for Coming forth by day and Living after death.

Oh thou Only One, who shinest from the Moon, let me come forth amid that train of thine, at large, and let me be revealed as one of those in glory.

And when the Tuat is opened to the gods, let *N* come forth to do his pleasure upon earth amid the Living.

CHAPTER IV.

Another Chapter, for traveling on the road which is above the earth.

It is I who travel on the Stream which divideth on the divine Pair, I am come, let there be given to me the lands of Osiris.

CHAPTER VI.

Chapter whereby the funeral Statuettes may be made to do work for a person in the Netherworld.

O Statuette there! Should I be called and appointed to do any of the labours that are done in the Netherworld by a person according to his abilities, lo! all obstacles have been beaten down for thee; be thou counted for me at every moment, for planting the fields, for watering the soil, for conveying the sands of the east and west.

Here am I, whithersoever thou callest me.

CHAPTER VIII.

Chapter of opening the Tuat by day.

The Hour discloseth what the head of Thoth keepeth close, who giveth might to the Eye of Horus.

And I call upon the Eye of Horus which gleams as an ornament upon the brow of Ra, the father of the gods.

I am that Osiris, the Lord of Amenta, and Osiris knoweth his day, and that it is in his lot that he should end his being and be no more.

I am Sut, the father of the gods, the imperishable one.

Stay, Horus, for he is counted among the gods.

CHAPTER IX.

Chapter for opening the Tuat.

O soul most mighty, here am I: I am come to thee that I may see thee.

I open the Tuat that I may see my father Osiris and may drive away the darkness.

I am he whom he loveth. I have come to see my father Osiris, to pierce the heart of Sut, and to perform all duties to my father Osiris.

I open all the paths in heaven and upon earth.

I am the son who loveth his father, and I am come as a mummied one, glorious and well equipt.

Oh, all ye gods and goddesses, the path is made for me.

CHAPTER X.

Chapter for coming forth victoriously.

I come forth victoriously against the adversaries.

I cleave the heaven, I open the horizon and I travel over the earth on foot. There come forward to me the Glorious and the Great ones, for I am furnished with numberless Words of Might.

I eat with my mouth, and I chew with my jaws; for, lo, I worship the god who is Lord of the Tuat, and that is given to me which endureth amid overthrow.

CHAPTER XI.

Chapter for coming out against the adversary in the Netherworld.
Here is the Osiris N.

O Eater of his arm, away from his path!

I am Ra coming forth from the horizon against his adversary, who

shall not be delivered from me.

I have stretched out my hand, as the Lord of the Crown, and lifted my feet.

I shall not be given up; my adversary shall fall before me; he hath been given up to me and shall not be delivered from me.

I rise up like Horus, I sit down as Ptah, I am victorious as Thoth, and powerful as Tmu: I walk upon my feet, I speak with my mouth, searching for him who hath been given up to me; he shall not be delivered from me.

CHAPTER XIV.

Chapter for removing displeasure from the heart of the god against the deceased person.

Hail to thee, oh god who sendeth forth the Moment, who presidest over all the Secret things and protectest the utterance of my words.

Here is a god displeased against me; let wrong be over-whelmed and let it fall upon the hands of the Lord of Law. Remove the impediments which are in me and the evil and the darkness, oh Lord of Law, and let that god be reconciled to me, removing that which detaineth me from thee.

Oh, lord of offerings in Kenu, let me offer to thee the propitiary offering by which thou livest, and let me live by it and be reconciled.

Let all the displeasure which is in thy heart against me be removed.

CHAPTER XV.

Adored be Ra, when he riseth up from the eastern horizon of Heaven; they who accompany him extol him.

Here is the Osiris *N*, the Victorious, and he saith:

O thou radiant Orb, who arisest each day from the Horizon, shine thou upon the face of the Osiris *N* who adoreth thee at dawn, and propitiateth thee at the gloaming.

Let the soul of *N* come forth with thee into heaven, let him journey in the Maatit boat and finish his course in the Sektit boat till he reach in heaven unto the Stars which set.

He saith, as he invoketh his Lord, the Eternal one:

Hail to thee, Horus of the Two Horizons, who are Chepera Self-originating; Beautiful is thy rising up from the horizon, enlightening the two Earths with thy rays. All the gods are in exultation when they see thee the King of Heaven, with the Nebt Unnut established upon the head (and the diadem of the South and the diadem of the North

upon thy brow) which maketh her abode in front of thee.

Thoth abideth at the prow of thy bark that he may destroy all thine adversaries.

They who dwell in the Tuat are coming forth to meet thy Majesty, and to gaze upon that beautiful semblance of thine.

And I too come to thee that I may be with thee to see thine Orb each day; let me not be detained, let me not be repulsed.

Let my limbs be renewed by the contemplation of thy glories, like all thy servants, for I am one of these who honoured thee upon earth.

Let me reach the Land of Ages, let me gain the land of Eternity; for thou, my Lord, hast destined them for me.

The Osiris *N*; he saith:

Hail to thee who riseth up from the Horizon as Ra in union with Maat; thou dost traverse heaven in peace and all men see thee as thou goest forward. And after being concealed from them thou presentest thyself at the dawn of each day.

Brisk is the bark under thy Majesty.

Thy rays are upon men's faces; the golden glories they cannot be told; not to be described are thy beams.

The Land of the gods, the colours of Punit are seen in them; that men may form an estimate of that which is hidden from their faces.

Alone are thou when thy form riseth up upon the Sky; let me advance as thou advancest, like thy Majesty, without a pause, O Ra, whom none can outstrip.

A mighty march is thine; Leagues by millions, and hundreds of thousands, in a small moment thou hast traveled them, and thou goest to rest.

Thou completest the hours of the Night, according as thou hast measured them out. And when thou hast completed them according to thy rule, day dawneth.

Thou presentest thyself at thy place as Ra, as thou risest from the Horizon.

The Osiris *N*, he saith, as he adoreth thee when thou shinest; He saith to thee when thou risest up at dawn, as he exalteth thine appearance;

Thou comest forth, most glorious one, fashioning and forming thy limbs, giving birth to them without any labour, as Ra rising in heaven.

Grant that I may attain to the Heaven of eternity and the abode of thy servants; let me be united with the venerable and mighty Chu of the Netherworld; let me come forth with them to see thy glories, as

thou shinest at the gloaming, when thy mother Nut enfoldeth thee.

And when thou turnest thy face to the West, mine hands are in adoration to thy setting as one who liveth; for it is thou who hast created Eternity.

I have set thee in my heart unceasingly, who are more mighty than all the gods.

The Osiris *N*, he saith:

Adoration to thee, who risest out of the Golden, and givest light to the earth on the day of thy birth. Thy mother bringeth thee forth upon her hands, that thou mayest give light to the whole circumference which the Solar Orb enlighteneth.

Mighty Enlightener, who risest up in the Sky and raisest up the tribes of men by thy Stream, and givest holiday to all districts, towns and temples; and raising food, nourishment and dainties.

Most Mighty one, master of masters, who defendest every abode of thine against wrong, Most Glorious one in thine Evening Bark, Most Illustrious in thy Morning Bark.

Glorify thou the Osiris *N* in the Netherworld, grant that he may come into Amenta without defect and free from wrong, and set him among the faithful and venerable ones.

Let him be united with the souls in the Netherworld, let him sail about in the country of Aarru after a joyful journey.

Here is the Osiris *N*.

Come forth into Heaven, sail across the firmament and enter into brotherhood with the Stars, let salutation be made to thee in the Bark, let invocation be made to thee in the Morning Bark. Contemplate Ra within his Ark and do thou propitiate his Orb daily. See the Ant fish in its birth from the emerald stream, and see the Abtu fish and its rotations.

And let the offender [the dragon Apepi] fall prostrate, when he meditates destruction for me, by blows upon his back-bone.

Ra springs forth with a fair wind; the Evening Bark speeds on and reaches the Haven; the crew of Ra are in exultation when they look upon him; the Mistress of Life, her heart is delighted at the overthrow of the adversary of her Lord.

See thou Horus at the Look-out at the bow, and at his sides, Thoth and Maat. All the gods are in exultation when they behold Ra coming in peace to give new life to the hearts of the Chu, and here is Osiris *N* along with them.

[LITANY]

Adored be Ra, as he setteth in the Land of Life.

Hail to thee, who hast come as Tmu, and hast been the creator of the cycle of the gods,

Hail to thee, who hast come as the Soul of Souls, August one in Amenta,

Hail to thee, who are above the gods and who lightenest up the Tuat with thy glories,

Hail to thee, who comest in splendour, and goest round in thine Orb,

Hail to thee, who are mightier than the gods, who are crowned in Heaven and King in the Tuat,

Hail to thee, who openest the Tuat and disposest of all its doors,

Hail to thee, supreme among the gods, and Weigher of Words in the Netherworld.

Hail to thee, who are in thy Nest, and stirrest the Tuat with thy glory,

Hail to thee, the Great, the Mighty, whose enemies are laid prostrate at their blocks,

Hail to thee, who slaughterest the Sebau and annihilatest Apepi,

[Each invocation of this Litany is followed by]

Give thou delicious breeze of the north wind to the Osiris *N*.

Horus openeth ; the Great, the Mighty, who divideth the earths, the great one who resteth in the Mountain of the West, and lighteneth up the Tuat with his glories and the Souls in their hidden abode, by shining into their sepulchres.

By hurling harm against the foe thou hast utterly destroyed all the adversaries of the Osiris *N*.

HYMN II.

The Osiris *N* ; he saith when he adareth Ra, the Horus of the Two Horizons, when setting in the Land of Life.

Adoration to thee, O Ra ; Adoration to thee, O Tmu, at thy coming in thy beauty, in thy manifestation, in thy mastery.

Thou sailest over the Heaven, thou travellest over earth and in splendour thou reachest the zenith ; the two divisions of Heaven are in obeisance to thee, and yield adoration to thee.

All the gods of Amenta are in exultation at thy glory. They whose abodes are hidden adore thee, and the Great Ones make offerings to thee, who for thee have created the soil of earth.

They who are on the Horizon convey thee, and they who are in the Evening Bark transport thee, and they say—Adoration at the approach of thy Majesty, Come, Come, approach in peace, Oh to thee, Welcome, Lord of Heaven, King of Akerta.

Thy mother Isis embraceth thee, seeing in thee her son, as the Lord of Terror, the All-Powerful, as he setteth in the Land of Life at night.

Thy father, Tatunen, carrieth thee, and his arms are stretched out behind thee, and that which hath taken place is made fast upon earth.

Wake up from thy rest, thine abode is in Mannu.

Let me be entrusted to the fidelity which is yielded to Osiris.

Come O Ra, Tmu, be thou adored. Do thy will daily. Grant success in presence of the cycle of the mighty gods.

Beautiful art thou, O Ra, in thine Horizon of the West; O Lord of Law, in the midst of the Horizon.

Very terrible art thou, rich art thou in attributes, and great is thy love to those who dwell in the Tuat.

To be said, when Ra sets in the Land of Life; with hands bent downward.

HYMN III.

Adoration to Tmu as he setteth in the Land of Life.

The Osiris *N*; he saith:—

Adoration to Tmu as he setteth in the Land of Life.

The Osiris *N*; he saith, adoring Tmu, when setting in the Land of Life and shedding his rays on the Tuat;

Hail to thee setting in the Land of Life, O Father of the gods, thou art united to thy mother in Manu. Her two hands receive thee daily. Thy Majesty hath part in the house of Sokaru. Exult thou because the doors are opened of the Horizon, at thy setting in the Mountain of the West.

Thy rays, they run over the earth to enlighten the dwellers in Amenta. Those who are in the Tuat worship thee with loud acclaim, and cherish hope when they see thee daily.

Thou grantest to the gods to sit upon the earth; to those, namely, who follow thee and come in thy train.

O August Soul, who begettest the gods, and dost invest them with thine attributes; the Unknowable, the Ancient One, the Mighty in thy mystery.

Be thy fair face propitious to the Osiris *N*, oh Chepera, Father of the gods.

Freedom forever from perdition is derived through this Book, and upon it I take my firm stand.

He hath written it who spake it, and his heart resteth on the reward.

Let there be given me armfuls of bread and drink, and let me be accompanied by this Book after my life.

CHAPTER XVII.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day out of the Netherworld.

Let the words be said :

I am he who closeth and he who openeth, and I am but One.

I am Ra at his first appearance.

I am the great god, self-reproduced ;

His Names together compose the cycle of the gods ;

Resistless is he among the gods.

I who am Osiris, am Yesterday and the Kinsman of the Morrow.

A scene of strife arose among the gods when I gave the command.

Amenta is the scene of strife among the gods.

I know the name of the great god who is here.

Herald of Ra is his name.

I am the great Heron who is in Heliopolis, who presideth over the account of whatsoever is and of that which cometh into being.

Who is that? It is Osiris who presideth over the account of all that is and all that cometh into being, that is Endless Time and Eternity. Endless Time is Day and Eternity is Night.

I am Amsu in his manifestations ; there have been given to me the Two Feathers upon my head.

Who is that, and what are his Feathers? It is Horus, the avenger of his father, and the Two Feathers are the Uraei upon the forehead of his father Tmu.

I have alighted upon my Land, and I come from my own Place.

What is that? It is the Horizon of my father Tmu.

All defects are done away, all deficiencies are removed, and all that was wrong in me is cast forth.

I am purified at the two great and mighty Lakes at Sutenhunuen, which purify the offerings which living men present to the great god who is there.

Who is that? It is Ra himself.

Which are the two great and mighty Lakes? The Lake of Natron and the Lake of Maat.

I advance over the roads, which I know, and my face is on the Land of Maat.

What is that? The road upon which father Tmu advanceth, when he goeth to the Field of Aarru, approaching to the land of Spirits in

GATE AT KARNAC

Illustrating Egyptian Hieroglyphics and Outline Carving.

Photogravure from a Carbon Photograph.

ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЕ
ПОСРЕДСТВОМ КОМПЬЮТЕРНОЙ ПРОГРАММЫ
ПОСРЕДСТВОМ КОМПЬЮТЕРНОЙ ПРОГРАММЫ



Heaven.

I come forth through the Teser gate.

What is that? This gate of the gods is Haukar. It is the gate and the two doors and openings, through which father Tmu issueth to the Eastern Horizon of Heaven.

O ye who have gone before! Let me grasp your hands, me who become one of you.

Who are they? Those who have gone before are Hu and Sau. May I be with their father Tmu, thoroughout the course of each day.

I make full the Eye when it waxeth dim on the day of battle between the two Opponents.

What is that? The battle of the two Opponents is the day upon which Horus fighteth with Sut, when he flingeth his filth upon the face of Horus, and when Horus siezeth upon the genitals of Sut, for it is Horus who doeth this with his own fingers.

I lift up the hairy net from the Eye at the period of its distress.

What is that? The right Eye of Ra is the period of its distress when he giveth it free course, and it is Thoth who lifteth up the net from it.

I see Ra, when he is born from Yesterday, at the dugs of the Mehurit cows? His course is my course, and conversely mine is his.

What is that? Ra and his births from Yesterday at the dugs of the Mehurit cows? It is the figure of the Eye of Ra, at his daily birth. And Mehurit is the Eye.

I am one of those who are in the train of Horus.

What is that—'one of those in the train of Horus?' Said with reference to whom his Lord loveth.

Hail, ye possessors of Maat, divine Powers attached to Osiris, who deal destruction to falsehood, ye who are in the train of Hotepeschaus, grant me that I may come to you. Do ye away the wrong which is [in] me, as ye have done to the Seven Glorious ones, who follow after the Confined one, and whose places Anubis hath fixed on that day of 'Come thou hither.'

Hotepeschaus is the divine Flame which is assigned to Osiris for burning the souls of his adversaries. I know the names of the Seven Glorious ones who follow the Confined one, and whose places Anubis hath fixed on the day of 'Come thou hither.'...The leader of this divine company.

'An-ar-ef, the Great' is his name; 2, Kat-kat; 3, the Burning Bull, who liveth in his fire; 4, the Red-eyed one in the House of Gauze; 5,

Fiery face which turneth backwards; 6, Dark Face in its hour; 7, Seer in the Night.

I am he whose Soul resideth in a pair of gods.

It is Osiris, as he cometh to Tattu, and there findeth the soul of Ra; each embraceth the other, and becometh Two Souls.

The pair of gods are Horus, the Avenger of his Father, and Horus the Prince of the City of Blindness.

I am the great Cat, who frequenteth the Persea tree in Heliopolis, on that night of battle wherein is affected the defeat of the Sebau, and that day upon which the adversaries of the Inviolable god are exterminated.

Who is that great Cat? It is Ra himself. For Sau said, He is the likeness of (Maau) of that which he hath created, and his name became that of Cat (Maau).

The night of conflict is the defeat of the children of Failure at Elephantine. There was conflict in the entire universe, in heaven and upon the earth.

He who frequenteth the Persea tree is he who regulateth the children of Failure, and that which they do.

O Ra, in thine Egg, who risest up in thine orb, and shinest from thine Horizon, and swimmest over the firmament without a peer, and sailest over the sky; whose mouth sendeth forth breezes of flame, lightening up the Two Earths with thy glories, do thou deliver *N* from that god whose attributes are hidden, whose eyebrows are as the arms of the Balance upon that day when outrage is brought to account, and each wrong is tied up to its separate block of settlement.

Deliver me from those Wardens of the Passages with hurtful fingers, attendant upon Osiris.

May your knives not get hold of me; may I not fall into your shambles, for I know your names; my course upon earth is with Ra and my fair goal is with Osiris. Let not your offerings be in my disfavour, oh ye gods upon your altars! I am one of those who follow the Master, a keeper of the writ of Chepera.

I fly like a Hawk, I cackle like a *Smen*-Goose, I move externally like Nehebka.

Oh Tmu who art in the Great Dwelling, Sovereign of all the gods, deliver me from that god who liveth upon the damned; whose face is that of a hound, but whose skin is that of a man; at that angle of the pool of fire; devouring shades, digesting human hearts and voiding ordure. One seeth him not.

This god whose face is that of a hound and whose skin is that of a man: Eternal Devourer is his name.

Oh fearful one, who art over the Two Earths, Red god who orderest the block of execution; to whom is given the Double Crown and Enjoyment as Prince of Sutenhunem.

It is Osiris to whom was ordained the Leadership among the gods, upon that day when the Two Earths were united before the Inviolable god.

The junction of the Two Earths is the head of the Coffin of Osiris [whose father is Ra] the beneficent Soul in Sutenhunem, the giver of food and the destroyer of wrong, who hath determined the paths of eternity.

It is Ra himself.

Deliver me from that god who seizeth upon souls, who consumeth all filth and corruption in the darkness or in the light: all those who fear him are in powerless condition.

This god is Sut.

Oh Chepera, who are in the midst of thy bark and whose body is the cycle of the gods forever; deliver me from those inquisitorial Wardens to whom the Inviolable god, of Glorious Attributes, hath given guard over his adversaries, and the infliction of slaughter in the place of annihilation, from whose guard there is no escape. May I not fall under your knives, may I not sit within your dungeons, may I not come to your places of extermination, may I not fall into your pits; may there be done to me none of those things which the gods abominate; for I have passed through the place of purification in the middle of the Meskat, for which are given the Mesit and the Tehenit cakes in Tanenit.

The Meskat is the place of scourging in Sutenhunem, the Tehenit is the Eye of Horus . . . Tanenit is the resting place of Osiris.

Tmu buildeth thy dwelling, the Lion-faced god layeth the foundation of thy house, as he goeth his round. Horus offereth purification and Sut giveth might, and conversely.

I have come upon this earth and with my two feet taken possession. I am Tmu and I come from my own Place.

Back, oh Lion with dazzling mouth, and with head bent forwards, retreating before me and my might.

I am Isis and thou findest me as I drop upon my face the hair which falleth loosely on my brow.

I was conceived by Isis and begotten by Nephthys. Isis destroyeth

what in me is wrong, and Nephthys loppeth off that which is rebellious.

Dread cometh in my train and Might is in my hands. Numberless are the hands who cling fast to me. The dead ones and the living come to me. I defeat the clients of mine adversaries, and spoil those whose hands are darkened.

I have made an agreeable alliance. I have created the inhabitants of Cher-abat and those of Heliopolis. And every god is in fear before the Terrible, the Almighty one.

I avenge every god against his oppressor, at whom I shoot my arrows when he appeareth.

I live according to my will.

I am Uatit, the Fiery one.

And woe to them who mount up against me!

What is this? "Of unknown attributes, which Hemen hath given" is the name of the Funeral Chest. "The Witness of that which is lifted" is the name of the Shrine.

The Lion with dazzling mouth and with head bent forwards is the Phallus of Osiris [*otherwise* of Ra].

And I who drop the hair with hath loosely fallen upon my brow—I am Isis, when she concealeth herself, she hath let fall her hair over herself.

Uat'it the Fiery is the Eye of Ra.

They who mount up against me, woe to them, they are the associates of Sut as they approach.

The An-maut [one priest] saith:

I come to you, ye Great Circles of gods in Heaven, upon Earth and in the World below! I bring to you *N* void of offense toward any of the gods, grant that he may be with you daily.

Glory to Osiris, Lord of Restau, and to the great gods who are in the World below. Here is *N* who saith: Hail to thee, Prince of Amenta, Unneferu who presidest in Abydos, I come to thee with Righteousness; without sin upon me. I am not knowingly a speaker of wrong; I am not given to duplicity; grant me Bread, the right of appearance at the tables Lords of Maat, entering in and going out of the Netherworld, and that my soul may not suffer repulse in its devotion to the orb of the Sun and the vision of the Moon-god forever.

The Se-meri-f [the second priest] saith:

I come to you, O Circle of gods in Restau, and I bring to you *N*.

Grant to him Bread, Water, Air and an allotment in the Sechit-hotepu like Horus.

Glory to Osiris, the Lord of Eternity and to the Circle of gods in Restau. Here is *N* and he saith: I come to thee, I know thy will, and I am furnished with thine attributes of the Tuat. Grant me an abiding place in the Netherworld by the Lords of Maat, my permanent allotment in the Sechit-hotepu, and the receiving of cakes before thee.

[LITANY]

1. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Circle of gods about Ra and about Osiris and the Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis, on that Night of the *Eve's Provender* and the Night of Battle when there befell the Defeat of the Sebau, and the Day of the extinction of the adversaries of the Inviolable god.

The Great Circle of gods in Heliopolis is of Tmu, Shu and Tefnut, and the Sebau who were defeated and extinguished were the associates of Sut on the renewal of his assault.

2. Oh Thoth who maketh Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries before the Great Circle of gods in Tattu, on the Night wherein the Tat is set up in Tattu.

The Great Circle of gods in Tattu is of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Horus the Avenger of his Father; and they who set up the Tat are the two arms of Horus, Prince of Sechem. They are behind Osiris as bindings of his raiment.

3. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Sechem on that Night of the *Eve's Provender* in Sechem.

The Great Circle of gods in Sechem is of Horus in the Dark, and Thoth, who is of the Great Circle of An-arer-ef.

The *Eve's Provender* is the dawn upon the Coffin of Osiris.

4. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepu, on that Night of erecting the pillars of Horus, and of establishing him as heir of his Father's property.

The Great Circle of gods in Pu and Tepu is of Horus, Isis, Emsta, Hapi; and the pillars of Horus are erected when Horus saith to those

who follow him, "let the pillars be erected there."

5. Oh Thoth who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods of the Two Shores of Rechit, on that Night when Isis lay watching in tears over her brother Osiris.

The Great Circle of gods on the Two Shores of Rechit is of Isis, Nephthys, Emsta and Hapi.

6. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Abydos on the night of Hakra, when the evil dead are parted off, when the glorious ones are rightly judged, and joy goeth its round in Thinis.

The Great Circle of gods in Abydos is of Osiris, Isis, and Aput.

7. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Damned, upon the Night when judgment is passed upon them who are no more.

The Great Circle of gods on the Highway of the Damned are Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Astes. And judgment is passed on the Highway of the Damned, when the suit is closed against the souls of the Children of Failure.

8. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu, on the Night of Hoeing in their blood and effecting the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods at the Great Hoeing in Tattu, when the associates of Sut arrive and take the forms of goats, slay them before the gods there, while their blood runneth down; and this is done according to the judgment of the gods who are in Tattu.

9. Oh Thoth, who maketh Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef on the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme in Attributes.

The Great Circle of gods in An-arer-ef is of Shu, Babai, Ra, and Osiris, and the Night of Hiding him who is Supreme in Attributes is when there are at the Coffin, the Thigh, the Head, the Heel, and the Leg of Unneferu.

10. Oh Thoth, who makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, let *N* be made triumphant over his adversaries, even as thou makest Osiris triumphant over his adversaries, before the Great Circle of gods in Restau on the Night when Anubis lieth with his hands upon the objects behind Osiris, when Osiris is made to triumph over his adversaries.

The Great Circle of gods in Restau is of Osiris, Horus and Isis. The heart of Horus rejoiceth, the heart of Osiris is glad and the two Parts [North and South] of Heaven are satisfied when Thoth effecteth the triumph of *N* before these ten Great Circles about Ra and about Osiris and the Circles of gods attached to every god and every goddess before the Inviolable god. All his adversaries are destroyed and all that was wrong in him is also destroyed.

Let the person say this chapter, he will be purified and come forth by day, after his death, and take all forms for the satisfaction of his will, and if this chapter be recited over him, he will be prosperous upon earth, he will come forth safe from every fire, and no evil thing will approach him: with undeviating regularity for times infinite.

CHAPTER XXII.

Another chapter whereby the Mouth of a person is given to him in the Netherworld.

I shine forth out of the Egg which is in the unseen world. Let there be given my mouth that I may speak with it in presence of the great god, Lord of the Tuat. Let not my hand be repulsed by the Divine Circle of the great god.

I am Osiris, the Lord of Restau, the same who is at the head of the Staircase.

I am come to do the will of my heart, out of the abode of Flame, which I extinguish when I come forth.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Chapter whereby the Words of Power are brought to a Person in the Netherworld.

I am Chepera, the self-produced, on his Mother's thigh.

The speed of bloodhounds is given to those who are in Heaven, and the mettle of hyaenas to those who belong to the Divine Circle.

Lo, I bring this Word of Power, and I collect this Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.

O thou who guidest the Bark of Ra, sound is thy rigging and free from disaster as thou passest on to the Abode of Flame.

Lo, I collect this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than Light; the same who create the gods out of Silence, or reduce them to inactivity; the same who impart warmth to the gods.

Lo, I collect this my Word of Power from every quarter in which it is, in behalf of every person whom it concerneth, more persistently than hounds of chase and more swiftly than the Light.

CHAPTER XXV.

Chapter whereby a person remembereth his name in the Nether-world.

Let my name be given to me in the Great House. Let me remember my name in the House of Flame on the Night wherein the Years are counted and the Months are reckoned, one by one.

I am he who dwelleth in Heaven, and who sitteth on the Eastern side of Heaven: and if there be any god who cometh not in my train, I utter his name at once.

Chapter whereby the Heart is given to a person in the Nether-world.

He saith Heart mine to me, in the place of Hearts! Whole Heart mine to me, in the place of Whole Hearts!

Let me have my heart that it may rest within me; but I shall feed upon the food of Osiris, on the eastern side of the mead of amaranthine flowers.

Be mine a bark for descending the stream and another for ascending.

I go down into the bark wherein thou art.

Be there given to me my mouth wherewith to speak, and my feet for walking; and let me have my arms wherewith to overthrow my adversaries.

Let two hands from the Earth open my mouth: Let Seb, the Erpa of the gods, part my two jaws, let him open my two eyes which are closed, and give motion to my two hands which are powerless: and let Anubis give vigour to my legs that I may raise myself up upon them.

And may Sechit the divine one lift me up, so that I may arise in Heaven and issue my behest in Memphis.

I am in possession of my Heart, I am in possession of my Whole Heart, I am in possession of my arms and I have possession of my legs.

[I do whatsoever my Genius willeth, and my Soul is not bound to my body at the gates of Amenta.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

Chapter whereby the Heart of a person may not be taken from him in the Netherworld.

Back, thou messenger of thy god! Art thou come to carry off by violence this Whole Heart of mine, of the Living. But I shall not surrender to thee this Heart of the Living. The gods have regards to my offerings and fall upon their faces, all together, upon their own earth.

CHAPTER XXIX. B.

Another Chapter of the Heart; upon Carnelian.

I am the Heron, the Soul of Ra, who conduct the Glorious ones to the Tuat.

It is granted to their Souls to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever their Genius willeth.

It is granted to the soul of Osiris *N* to come forth upon the Earth to do whatsoever his Genius willeth.

Heart mine which is that of my Mother.

Whole Heart mine which is that of my birth.

Let there be no estoppel against me through evidence, let no hindrance be made to me by the divine Circle; fall thou not against me in presence of him who is at the Balance.

Thou art my Genius, who are by me, the Artist who givest soundness to my limbs.

Come forth to the bliss towards which we are bound.

Let not those Ministrants who deal with a man according to the course of his life give a bad odour to my name.

Pleasant for us, pleasant for the listener, is the joy of the Weighing of the Words.

Let not lies be uttered in the presence of the great god, Lord of the Amenta.

Lo! how great art thou [as the Triumphant one.]

CHAPTER XXXI.

Chapter whereby the Crocodiles are repulsed who come to carry

off the Words of Power from a person in the Netherworld.

Back, in retreat! Back, Crocodile Sui! Come not against me, who live by the Words of Power.

I utter that Name of the great god, who granteth that two of his Messengers should come; the name of one is Batta, and the name of the other is *Thine Aspect is Fixed Law*.

Heaven determineth its hour; my Word of Power determineth all that which concerneth it; and my mouth determineth my Word of Power. I eat, and my teeth are like flint, and my grinders are like the Cliff of Tuf.

O thou who art sitting with a watchful eye against this my Word of Power; do not thou carry it off, O Crocodile who livest by thine own Word of Power.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Chapter whereby all Serpents are kept back.

O serpent Rerek, advance not! Here are the gods Seb and Shu.

Stop! or thou shalt eat the rat which Ra execrateth, and gnaw the bones of a putrid she-cat.

CHAPTER XLI.

Chapter whereby one avoideth the Slaughter which is carried out in the Netherworld.

O Tmu, let me be glorified in presence of the god in Lion form, the great god; that he may open to me the gate of Seb.

I prostrate myself to earth to the great god who is in the Netherworld. Let me be introduced into the presence of the company of gods who preside over those who are in Amenta.

O thou who are at the gate of Tebat; god with the Red Crown, who art in Amenta; let me feed, let me live by the breath of air and accompany the great Cleaver, and the Bark of Chepera.

Let me speak to the divine Boatman at the gloaming, let me enter in and let me go out; that I may see who is there; that I may raise him up and speak my words to him.

O Breathless one: Let me live and be saved after death.

O thou Bearer of peace offerings, who openest thy mouth for the presentation of the tablets, for the acceptation of the offerings and for the establishment of Maat upon her throne; let the tablets be brought forward, and let the goddess be firmly established.

I am Osiris, the great god, the eternal king, who numbereth his

**EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS ON PAPYRUS
CONTAINING "BOOK OF THE DEAD"**

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON



THE HISTORY OF THE
"CALCULUS" BOOKS

THE
CALCULUS
BOOKS

THE
CALCULUS
BOOKS



seasons and who lifteth up his right arm, who judgeth the great ones and giveth mission to the gods of the great Circle which is in the Netherworld.

CHAPTER XLII.

Chapter whereby one hindereth the slaughter which is wrought at Sutenhenen.

Land of the Rod, of the White Crown of the Image, and the Pedestal of the gods.

I am the Babe. [Said Four Times.]

O Serpent Abur! Thou sayest this day, "The Block of Execution is furnished with what thou knowest," and thou art come to soil the Mighty One.

But I am he whose honours are abiding.

I am the Link, the god within the Tamarisk, who connecteth the Solar orb with Yesterday. [Four Times.]

I am Ra, whose honours are abiding.

I am Link, the god within the Tamarisk.

My course is the course of Ra, and the course of Ra is my course.

My hair is that of Nu,

My two eyes are those of Hathor,

My two ears are those of Apuat,

My nose that of Chenti-chas,

My two lips those of Anubis,

My teeth those of Selkit,

My neck that of Isis, the Mighty,

My two hands those of the Soul most Mighty, Lord of Tattu,

My shoulders those of Neith, Mistress of Sais,

My phallus that of Osiris,

My liver is that of the Lords of Cher-abat,

My knees those of the most Mighty one,

My belly and my back are those of Sechit,

My hinder parts are those of the Eye of Horus,

My legs and thighs those of Nut,

My feet those of Ptah,

My nails and bones those of the Living Uraei.

There is not a limb in me which is without a god. And Thoth is a protection to my flesh.

I shall not be grasped by my arms or seized by my hands.

Not men or gods, or the glorified ones or the damned; not genera-

tions past, present, or future, shall inflict any injury upon me.

I am he who cometh forth and proceedeth, and whose name is unknown to man.

I am Yesterday, "Witness of Eternity" is my Name: the persistent traveler upon the heavenly highways which I survey. I am the Everlasting one.

I am felt and thought of as Chepera. I am the Crowned one.

I am the Dweller in the Eye and in the Egg.

It is an attribute of mine that I live within them.

I am the Dweller in the Eye, even in its closing.

I am that by which it is supported.

I come forth and I rise up: I enter and I have life.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; my seat is upon my throne, and I sit conspicuously upon it.

I am Horus, who steppeth onwards through Eternity.

I have instituted the throne of which I am the master.

As regards my mouth: whether in speech or in silence, I am right and fair.

As regards my attributes: I hasten headlong, I the god Unen, with all that pertaineth to me, hour proceeding from hour, the One proceeding from the One, in my course.

I am the Dweller in the Eye; no evil or calamitous things befall me.

It is I who open the gates of Heaven; It is I who am master of the throne, and who open the series of births upon this day.

I am the Babe, who treadeth his path of Yesterday.

I am "This Day" to generation of men after generation.

I am he who giveth you stableness for eternity, whether ye be in heaven or upon earth; in the South or in the North, in the West or in the East—and the fear of me is upon you.

I am he who fashioneth with his eye, and who dieth not a second time.

A moment of mine belongeth to you, but my attributes belong to my own domain.

I am the Unknown one, but the gods of Ruddy Countenance belong to me.

I am the Gladsome one, and no time hath been found, but served to create for me the Heaven and the increase of Earth, and the increase of their offspring.

They sever and join not—they sever my name from all evil things,

according to the words which I say unto you.

It is I who rise up and shine forth; strength proceeding from strength, the One proceeding from the One.

There is not a day devoid of that which belongeth to it; for ever and for ever.

I am Unbu, who proceedeth from Nu, and my mother is Nut.

O thou who hast set me in motion! for I was motionless, a mighty link within the close of Yesterday; my present activity is a link within the close of my hand.

I am not known, but I am one who knoweth thee.

I am Horus, Prince of Eternity, afire before your faces, which inflameth your hearts towards me.

I am not to be grasped, but I am one who graspeth thee.

[O Dweller in the Egg! O Dweller in the Egg!]

I am Horus, Prince of Eternity, a fire before your faces, which inflameth your hearts towards me.

I am master of my throne and I pass onwards. The present time is the path which I have opened, and I have set myself free from all things evil.

I am the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah; and my course is the course of the golden Cynocephalus, three palms in height, without legs or arms in the Temple of Ptah.

Let these words be said—Ababakter-ek.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Chapter whereby he that is living is not destroyed in the Netherworld.

Oh ye recent offspring of Shu, who dawn after dawn is possessor of his diadem at Sunrise; ye future generations of men, my springing forth is the springing forth of Osiris.

CHAPTER LII.

Chapter whereby one eateth not dirt in the Netherworld.

I execrate, I execrate, I do not eat it.

That which I execrate is dirt. I eat it not, that I may appease my Genius.

Let it not fall upon me; let me not approach it with my hands; let me not tread upon it with my sandals.

Henceforth let me live upon corn in your presence, ye gods, and

let there come one who bringeth to me that I may feed from those seven loaves which he hath brought for Horus and upon the loaves for Thoth.

"What wilt thou eat?" say the gods to him.

Let me eat under the Sycamore of Hathor the Sovereign, and let my turn be given to me among those who rest there.

And let me manage the fields in Tattu and prosper in Heliopolis.

And let me feed upon the bread of the white corn and upon the beer of the red barley.

And let the forms of my father and of my mother be granted to me; the gate-keepers of the stream.

Let room be thrown open for me, let the path be made, and let me sit in any place that I desire.

CHAPTER LVII.

Chapter for breathing air and command of water in the Nether-world.

Let the Great One be opened to Osiris; let the two folding doors of Kabhu be thrown wide to Ra.

O thou great Coverer of Heaven, in thy name of Stretcher [of Heaven], grant that I may have the command of water, even as Sut hath command of force on the night of the Great Disaster: grant that I may prevail over those who preside at the Inundation, even as that venerable god prevaieth over them, whose name they know not. May I prevail over them.

My nostril is opened in Tattu, and I go to rest in Heliopolis, my dwelling, which the goddess Seshait built, and which Chnum raised on its foundation.

If the Sky is at the North I sit at the South; if the Sky is at the South I sit at the North; if the Sky is at the West I sit at the East; and if the Sky is at the East I sit at the West.

And drawing up my eyebrows I pierce through into every place that I desire.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day from the Netherworld.

I am Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow, for I am born again and again; mine is the unseen Force, which createth the gods and giveth food to those in the Tuat at the West of Heaven; I am the Eastern

Rudder, the Lord of Two Faces, who seeth by his own light; the Lord of Resurrections, who cometh forth from the dusk and whose birth is from the House of Death.

Ye two divine Hawks upon your gables, who are giving attentive heed to the matter; ye who accompany the bier to the tomb, and who conduct the ship of Ra, advancing onwards from the highest place of the Ark in heaven—the Lord of the Shrine which standeth in the center of the Earth;

He is I, and I am He.

Mine is the radiance in which Ptah floateth over his firmament.

Oh Ra, who smileth cheerfully, and whose heart is delighted with the perfect order of this day as thou enterest into Heaven and comest forth in the East: the Ancients and those who are gone before acclaim thee.

Let thy path be made pleasant for me; let thy ways be made wide for me to traverse the earth and the expanse of Heaven.

Shine thou upon me, oh gracious Power; as I draw night to the divine words which my ears shall hear in the Tuat; let no pollution of my mother be upon me; deliver me, protect me from him who closeth his eyes at twilight and bringeth to an end in darkness.

I am the Overflow, and Kam-ura is my name: I bring to its fulness the Force which is hidden within me.

Oh thou Great One, who art Shoreless, and callest upon the Powers of the South, at the moment when the god is carried forth, saying:

“Behold the Lord of his Flood; see, the Shoulder is fastened upon his neck and the Haunch upon the head of the West” offerings which the two goddesses of the West present to me when the weeping bursteth forth from me at what I witness, as I am borne round on the Tenait in Abydos, and the bolts made fast on the gateways above your images are in the reach of thine hand and from within thee.

Thy face is that of a hound whose nostril sniffeth at the covert to which my feet convey me.

Anubis is my bearer, for he who lullet me to rest is the god in Lion form.

Do thou save me!

I am He who cometh forth as one who breaketh through the door; and everlasting is the Daylight which his will hath created.

“I know the deep waters” is my name.

I satisfy the desires of the Glorified, who are by millions and

hundreds of thousands [Text corrupt.] I am the guardian of their interests, actively working at the hours of the day adjusting the arms of Sahu; twelve in the circling round, uniting hands, each of them with another. But the Sixth of them in the Tuat is the 'Hour of the overthrow of the Sebau,' which cometh here in triumph; the same which maketh way into the Tuat; the same which is yoked with Shu.

I shine forth as the Lord of Life and the glorious order of this day: the blood which purifieth and the vigorous sword-strokes by which the Earth is made one.

I sever the horns from those who unite in resistance to me; the hidden ones who rise up in opposition against me; those who go upon their bellies.

I am come as the ambassador of the Lord of lords to avenge the cause of Osiris in this place. Let (not) the eye consume its tears.

I am the Guide of the house of Him who dwelleth in his treasures.

I am come from Sechem to Heliopolis to inform the Bennu of the matters of the Tuat.

Oh goddess Aucherit, who concealest that which is within thee, but raisest up forms, like Chepera, grant that I may come forth and see the orb of the sun, and walk forth in the presence of the great god, who is Shu and abideth for eternity.

I travel on high, I tread upon the firmament, I raise a flame with the daylight which mine eyes hath made, and I fly forward towards the splendours of the Glorified in presence of Ra daily, giving life to every man who treadeth on the lands which are upon the earth.

Oh thou who leapest forth, conductor of the Shades and Glorified ones from the Earth, let the fair path to the Tuat be granted to me, which is made in behalf of those who are in faint condition and for the restoration of those who are in pain.

Who art thou, who devourest in Amenta?

I am He who presideth in Restau. "He who entereth in his own name, and cometh forth in quest; the Lord of the Eternity of the Earth" is my name.

She who hath conceived hath set down her burden; *which turneth round before descending; the door is shut at the wall which is reversed.* [Text corrupt.]

His Eye hath been given to Horus and his face brighteneth at the dawning of the day.

I am not exhausted: I become the Lion god and the palm flowers of Shu are upon me.

I am not one who drowneth.

Blessed are they who see the Bourne: beautiful is the god of the motionless heart who causeth the stay of the Overflowing.

Behold! there cometh forth the Lord of Life, Osiris thy support who abideth day after day.

I embrace the Sycomore, I am united to the Sycomore.

I part the two dieties of morning that I may come to hold the Eye, and cause it to rest in its place.

I am come to see Ra at his setting, and I unite with the breeze at his coming forth: my two hands are pure for adoring him.

May I be restored! May I be restored!

I fly up to heaven and I alight upon the earth; and mine eye turneth back there towards the traces of my footsteps.

I am the offspring of Yesterday; the tunnels of the earth have given me birth, and I am revealed at my appointed time.

May I be under shelter from the warlike handed god who cometh behind me, may my flesh be sound and my glories be a protection to the limbs of one who waiteth for the purpose of taking counsel. May the Cycle of the gods listen to what I say.

To be said on coming forth by day; that one may not be kept back on the path of the Tuat, whether on entering or on coming forth; for taking all the forms which one desireth; and the soul of the person die not a second time.

If then this chapter be known the person is made triumphant upon earth (and in the Netherworld) and he performeth all things which are done by the living.

This chapter was discovered on a plinth of the god of the Henu Bark by a master builder of the wall in the time of king Septa, the Victorious.

This composition is a secret; not to be seen or looked at.

Recite the chapter when sanctified and pure; not approaching women, not eating goat's flesh or fish.

CHAPTER LXXII.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day and passeth through the Ammehit.

Hail to you, ye Lords of Rule, devoid of Wrong, who are living for ever, and whose secular period is Eternity. I make my way towards you. Let me be glorified through my attributes; let me prevail through my Words of Power, and let me be rated according to

my merit.

Deliver me from the Crocodile of this Land of Rule.

Let me have a mouth wherewith I may speak, and let my obligations be placed before you; because I know you, and I know your names: and I know the name of that great god to whose nostrils ye present delicacies: Tekmu is his name. And whether he maketh his way from the Eastern Horizon of Heaven, or alighteth at the Western Horizon of Heaven, let his departure be my departure, and his progress be my progress.

Let me not be stopped at the Meskat; let not the Sebau have mastery over me; let me not be repulsed at your gates, let not your doors be closed against me; for I have bread in Pu and beer in Tepu. And let me join my two hands together in the divine dwelling which my father Tmu hath given me, who hath established for me an abode above the earth wherein is wheat and barley of untold quantity, which the son of my own body offereth to me there as obligations upon my festivals.

Grant me the funeral gifts, beef, fowl, bindings, incense, oil, and all things good and pure upon which a deity subsists, regularly and eternally, in all the forms I please.

Let me come down or go up to Sechit-aarru and arrive in Sechit-hotep.

I am the god in Lion form.

If this book is learnt upon earth, or executed in writing upon the coffin, he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleaseth, with entrance into his house without repulse. And there shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh-meat upon the table of Osiris. He will come forth to Sechit-aarru, and there shall be given to him wheat and barley there, for he will flourish as though he were upon earth, and he will do all that pleaseth him, like those gods who are there: undeviatingly, for times infinite.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Golden Hawk.

I raise myself up: I raise myself up as the Golden Hawk, which cometh out from its Egg; and I fly and I hover as a Hawk of four cubits across the back. My two wings are of the green gem of the South.

I come forth from the cabin of the Sektit Bark and I raise myself up from the Eastern Hill.

I stoop upon the Atit Bark, that I may come and raise to me those who are in their circles, and who bow down before me.

I raise myself and gather myself together as the beautiful Golden Hawk with the head of a Heron, to listen to whose utterances Ra cometh every day, and I sit down in the midst of all the great gods of Heaven.

The fields lie before me; the produce is before me; I eat of it, I wax radiant upon it, I am saturated with it to the satisfaction of my heart.

Nepra hath given to me my throat, and I am in possession of all that pertaineth to my person.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Chief god of the Divine Cycle.

Hail to thee, Tmu, Lord of Heaven, who givest motion to all things which come into being; thou who comest forth from the Earth and createst whatsoever is begotten: Lord of the things which are; who givest birth to the gods; great god, self-produced; Lord of Life, who givest vigour to the men now living:

Hail to you, ye Lords of pure things, ye whose abodes are hidden:

Hail to you, ye Lords of Eternity, ye whose attributes are concealed, and the place where ye reside is unknown.

Hail to you, ye gods who are in the divine circuit and the Kabhu; ye gods who are in Amenta and ye, O Divine Cycle which is in Heaven:

Let me come to you, let me be purified and strengthened, let me be enriched and gifted with power, let me have possession and glory.

I bring in offering to you perfume, incense and natron. Stop ye the outpourings of your hearts against me. I am come to put a stop to all the wrong things which are in your hearts, and to do away with the false charges which have been made to you.

But I bring in offering to you well-being. I lift up in offering to you Maat.

I know you and I know your names, and I know your attributes, though it be not known what by you may be brought to pass.

I come before you and make my appearance as that god in the form of a man who liveth like a god, and I stand out before you in the form of that god who is raised high upon his pedestal, to whom the gods come with acclamation, and the female deities with jubilation, when they see him.

I come before you and make my appearance on the seat of Ra, and I sit upon my seat which is on the Horizon, and receive the offerings upon their altars. I drink the sacred liquor each evening, in the form of the Lord of all creatures, and I am exalted like that venerable god the Lord of the Great House, whom the gods rejoice at seeing at his beautiful comings forth from the womb of Nut, to whom each day giveth birth.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Lotus.

I am the pure Lotus which cometh forth from the glory which is at the nostril of Ra, and I make my journey and pursue it for Horus, the great god beloved.

I am the pure Lotus which cometh forth in the field.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of a Soul, that one may not come to the dungeon. Imperishable is he who knoweth it.

I am a Soul. I am Ra who proceedeth from Nu, and my soul is divine. I am he who produceth food, but I execrate what is wrong and look not upon it.

I am possessor of Maat and subsist by means of it.

I am the Food which perisheth not; in my name of Self-originating Force, together with Nu, in the name of Chepera, from whom I am born daily.

I am the Lord of Daylight and I execrate Death, let me not enter into the dungeons of the gods of the Tuat.

It is I who give glory to Osiris and propitiate the hearts of those who are with him, my own friends.

They inspire the fear of me, and put forward my might to those within their domains.

And behold me, how I am raised upon my pedestal and upon my throne.

I am Nu. They shall not overthrow me who do wrong.

I am he whose orbits are of old; my soul is divine, it is the Eternal Force.

It is I who create the Darkness which maketh its seat at the confines of Heaven.

My Soul hath come, far advanced in age, and I create the Darkness at the confines of Heaven at my pleasure.

I reach the limits, and I advance upon my feet.

I take the lead and I traverse the steel firmament which marketh a curtain. I put a stop to the Darkness and the worms; I whose name is hidden.

I drive away aggression from before the Lord of the two hands, who is my own Soul. The Uraeus divinities are my body. My image is Eternal, the Lord of years, the King of Everlasting.

I am exalted as Lord of the land of Rebu: 'the Youth in Town, the Lad in the Country' is my name; and my name is imperishable.

I am the Force which createth Heaven and maketh its abode in the Netherworld.

Not to be seen is my nest; not to be broken is my Egg.

I am the Lord on High. I have made my nest on the confines of Heaven, and I descend to the earth of Seb and put a stop to evil. I see my father, the Lord of the Gloaming, and I breathe.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Swallow.

I am the Swallow; I am the Swallow.

I am the Scorpion bird, daughter of Ra.

O ye gods, whose perfume is delicious: Flame which producest from the Horizon: O thou who art in the place whence I have brought the keeper of his fold—let me have thine arm that I may make observation at the Tank of Flame, that I may advance as an envoy and come with the report of it.

Be it opened to me, in order that I may tell what I have seen.

Horus is in command of his bark. There hath been given to him the throne of his father, and Sutu that son of Nut is under the grappling hooks which he made for him.

I have ascertained what is in Sechem. I have touched with my two hands the Heart of Osiris.

And that which I went in order to ascertain I am come to tell. Come let me enter and report my mission.

And I, entering and ascertaining who cometh forth through that gate of the Inviolable one, I purify myself at that great stream where my ills are made to cease, and that which is wrong in me is pardoned and the spots which were on my body upon earth are effaced.

O keeper of the Portal, let the path be made for me, for I am as one of you. Let me come forth by day, and walk upon my legs. Let me have the feet of the Glorified.

I know the mysterious paths and the gates of Aarru from whence I come. Here am I, and I come that I may overthrow mine adversaries upon earth, though my dead body is buried.

If this chapter be known he will re-enter after coming forth by day.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of Se-ta.

I am Seta—full of years.

I lay myself down [in death], and I am born daily.

I am Seta at the confines of the earth. I lay myself down [in death], I restore myself and I renew myself daily.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Crocodile god (Sebak).

For I am the Crocodile god in all his terrors.

I am the Crocodile god in the form of a man. I am he who carrieth off with violence. I am the almighty Fish in Kamurit.

I am the Lord to whom one bendeth down in Sechem.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Chapter whereby the soul is united to the dead Body.

Oh thou who Bringest; Oh thou Runner, who dwellest in thy keep, thou great god, grant that my Soul may come to me from whatsoever place where it abideth.

But if there be a delay in the bringing of my soul to me, thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing firm against thee, like those undrowsy Watchers who lie in Annu, the land wherein are thousands of reunions.

Let my Soul be caught, and the Chu which is with it, wheresoever it abideth.

Track out among the things in heaven and upon earth that soul of mine, wherever it abideth.

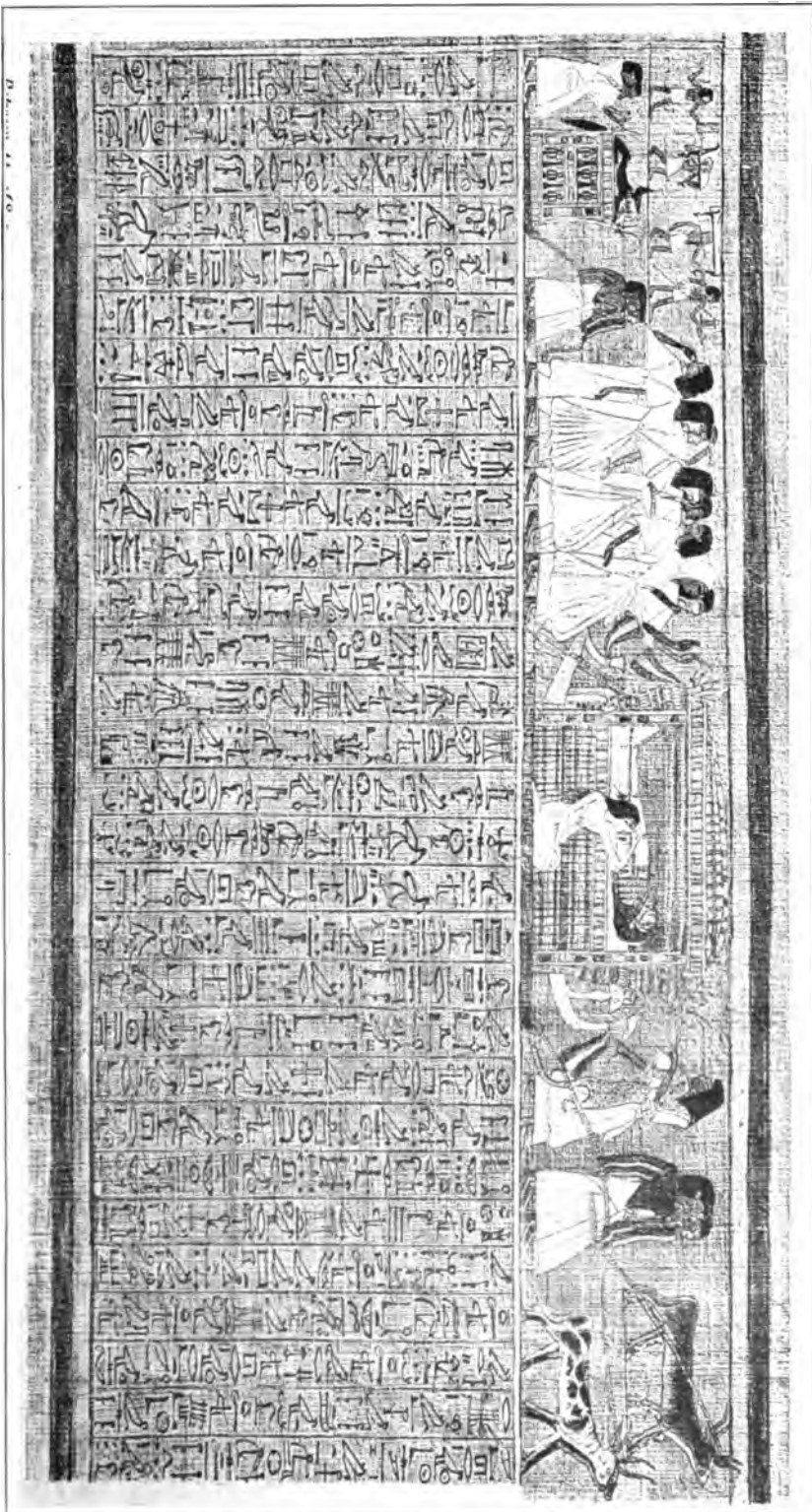
But if there be a delay in my causing me to see my Soul and my Shade, thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing firm against thee.

Oh ye gods who draw along the Bark of the Eternal one: ye who lift up above the Tuat, and who raise up the Sky: ye who enable the Souls to enter into the mummied forms; ye whose hands grasp the

PAPYRUS OF ANI, SHOWING FUNERAL
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cordage, hold firm with your ropes and stop the adversaries that the Bark may rejoice and the god proceed in peace.

And now grant that my Soul may come forth in your train from the Eastern Horizon of Heaven for ever and ever.

CHAPTER XC.

Chapter whereby Memory is restored to a person.

Oh thou who choppest off heads and cuttest throats, but restorest memory in the mouth of the dead through the Words of Power which they possess: thou seest me not with thine eyes, thou perceivest not with thy feet; thou turnest back thy face, thou seest not the executioners of Shu, who are coming behind thee to chop off thine own head and to cut thy throat. Let not my mouth be closed, through the Words of Power which I possess; even as thou hast done to the dead, through the Words of Power which they possess.

Away with the two sentences uttered by Isis when thou camest to fling remembrance at the mouth of Osiris and the heart of Sut, his enemy, saying:[Text missing.]

CHAPTER XCI.

Chapter whereby the Soul is secured from imprisonment in the Netherworld.

Oh thou who are exalted and worshipped, all powerful, almighty one, who grantest thy terrors to the gods, who displayest thyself upon thy throne of grandeur, let the way to be made for my Soul, my Chu and my Shade. Let me be thoroughly equipped.

I am a powerful Soul; let the way be made for me to the place where Ra is and Hathor.

If this Chapter be known, he taketh the form of a fully equipped Chu in the Netherworld, and does not suffer imprisonment at any door in the Amenta, either in coming in or going out.

CHAPTER XCIII.

Chapter whereby one avoideth being conveyed to the East in the Netherworld.

Oh thou Phallus of Ra, who fliest from the storm, disablement ariseth from Baba who useth against me might beyond the mighty and power beyond the powerful.

If I am conveyed away, if I am carried off to the East; if all evil and injurious things of a feast day of fiends are perpetrated upon me

through the waving of the Two Horns, then shall be devoured the Phallus of Ra and the Head of Osiris.

And should I be led to the fields wherein the gods destroy him who answereth them, then shall the horns of Chepera be twisted back, then shall blindness arise in the eyes of Tmu and destruction, through the seizure of me, and through my being carried off to the East, through there being made over me a feast day of the fiends, through all the murderous work perpetrated upon me.

Said at the Bark: Staff of Anubis, may I propitiate those four Glorified ones who follow after the Master of [all] things.

I am the Master of the champaign at their behest, and I am the Father of the inundation, when he who hath charge of the canals is athirst.

Look therefore upon me, oh ye great and mighty gods, who are foremost among the Spirits of Annu; let me be exalted in your presence. I am a well-doer towards you: Lo I come, that I may purify this Soul of mine in the most high degree; let not that impediment proceeding from your mouth be issued against me which giveth one over to ruin: let me be purified in the lake of propitiation and of equipoise: let me plunge into the divine pool beneath the two divine sycomores of Heaven and Earth.

Now let my Fold be fitted for me as one victorious against all adversaries who would not that right should be done to me.

I am the Only one; just and true upon the Earth. It is I who say it. [Text missing.]

* * *

CHAPTER XCIX.

Chapter whereby one Saileth a Ship in the Netherworld.

Oh thou who sailest the ship of Nu over the chine which is void, let me sail the ship; let me fasten my tackle in peace; in peace! Come, come; Fleet one, Fleet one! Let me come to see my father Osiris.

Oh thou who art veiled, let me enjoy happiness.

Oh thou who art clouded, but manful, and who sailest round over that chine of Apepi; thou of firm head and steadfast breast when coming forth from the fiery blows: Oh thou who art at the ship, let me sail the ship, let me fasten my tackle and come forth.

This place is empty, into which the starry ones fall down headlong upon their faces, and find not aught whereby they can raise themselves up.

Narrow is the path as the tongue of Ra.

(The Patrol who goeth round, and who piloteth the Double Earth; Seb abideth stably by means of their rudders: the divine Form which revealeth the Solar Orb: and He who presideth over the Red ones.)
[Text corrupt.]

Let me be brought in as a distressed mariner, and let my Soul come to me, which is my brother, and go to that place which thou knowest.

"Let me be told my name," say,

1. *The Mooring-post.* "Lord of the Double-Earth in the Shrine" is thy name.

2. *The Blade of the Rudder.* "Leg of Apis" is thy name.

3. *The Hawser.* "The Side-Lock which Anubis fastens on to the swathing work" is thy name.

4. *The Stern or Stem Posts.* "The two columns of the Nether-world" is thy name.

5. *The Hold.* "Akar" is thy name.

6. *The Mast.* "Bearer of the Great one whilst she passeth" is thy name.

7. *The Keel.* "Backbone of Apuat" is thy name.

8. *The Mast-head.* "Throat of Emsta" is thy name.

9. *The Sail.* "Nut" is thy name.

10. *The Leathers.* "Made of the hide of Mnevis, which Sutuhath scorched," is thy name.

11. *The Oars.* "Fingers of the elder" is your name.

12. *The Bracement.* "Hand of Isis, stanching the blood of the Eye of Horus," is thy name.

13. *The Ribs.* "Emsta, Hapi, Taumaufef, Kebehsenuf, He who taketh captive, He who taketh by force, He who seeth his Father, and He who maketh himself," are your names.

14. *The Look-out.* "Master of the Grounds" is thy name.

15. *The Tiller.* "Merit" is thy name.

16. *The Rudder.* "The Umpire, beaming forth from the water," is thy name.

17. *The Hull.* "The Leg of Hathor, which Ra wounded, on lifting her into the Sektit Boat," is thy name.

18. *The Boatman.* "Off," is thy name.

19. *The Breeze,* since thou art conveyed by me: "The Northern Breeze proceeding from Tmu to the Nose of Chent-Amenta," is thy name.

20. *The Stream*, since thou sailest upon me: "Their Mirror" is thy name.

21. *The Swallow*. "Destroyer of the large-handed at the place of purification" is thy name.

22. *The Land*. Since thou walkest upon me: "The Tip of Heaven, the Coming forth from the swathings in the Garden of Aarru, and the Coming forth in Exultation," is thy name.

To be said before them.

Hail to you, Fair in Form, Lord of issues, who are springing up for ever, and whose double goal is eternity: turn to me your hands, give to me food and offerings for my mouth; let me eat the *Bat*-bread, the *Shensu*-cake and the *Kefen*-cake: let my place be in the great hall in presence of the mighty god.

I know that mighty god to whose nostrils ye present delicacies. Tekmu is his name: and whether he, whose name is Tekmu, turneth from the East or advanceth to the West, let his course be my course.

Let me not be stopped at the Meskat; let not the Sebau have mastery over my limbs.

I have bread in Pu and beer in Tepu. Let your largesses of this day be granted to me; offerings of wheat and barley, offerings of *anta* and of vestments, offerings of oxen, and ducks, which are offerings for life, health and strength, and also offerings for coming forth by day, in all forms in which it pleaseth me to come forth in the Garden of Aarru.

If this chapter be known he will come forth at the Garden of Aarru; there will be given to him the Shensu-cake, the measure of drink and the persen-cake, and fields of wheat and barley of seven cubits (It is the followers of Horus who reap them), for he eateth of that wheat and barley, and he is made whole in his limbs through that wheat and barley, and his limbs spring up even as with those gods. And he cometh forth in the Garden of Aarru in all the forms in which it pleaseth him to come forth.

CHAPTER CIII.

Chapter whereby one openeth the place where Hathor abideth.

I am a pure follower. O Ahi; O Ahi; let me become one of the followers of Hathor.

CHAPTER CIV.

Chapter whereby one sitteth in the midst of the great gods.

Let me sit in the midst of the great gods. Let me pass through the place of the Sektit boat. It is the Bird-fly deity [Abait] that shall convey me to see the great gods who are in the Netherworld, and I shall be triumphant in their presence.

CHAPTER CV.

Chapter whereby one propitiateth the Ka.

Hail to thee, my Ka, my coeval.

May I come to thee and be glorified and made manifest and ensouled, let me have strength and soundness.

Let me bring to thee grains of incense wherewith I may purify myself and may also purify thine own overflow.

The wrong assertions that I have uttered, and the wrong resistance which I have offered: let them not be imputed to me.

For I am the green gem, fresh at the throat of Ra, given by those who are at the Horizon: their freshness is my freshness [said twice], the freshness of my Ka is like theirs, and the dainties of my Ka are like theirs.

Thou who liftest the hand at the Balance, and raisest Law to the nose of Ra in this day [of my Ka]: do not thou put my head away from me. For I am the Eye which seeth and the Ear which heareth; and am I not the Bull of the sacrificial herd, are not the mortuary gifts upon me and the supernal powers [*otherwise said*: the powers above Nut].

Grant that I may pass by thee, and may purify myself and cause the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries.

CHAPTER CVIII.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of the West.

In respect of the Hill of Bachau upon which heaven resteth, it presenteth itself three hundred cubits in length and two hundred cubits in breadth.

Sebak, the Lord of Bachau, is at the east of the Hill, and his temple is upon it.

There is a serpent on the brow of that hill, five hundred cubits in length, three cubits of his forepart are pierced with swords.

I know the name of this serpent on his hill: "He who dwelleth in his own flame" is his name.

Now at the close of day he turneth down his eyes to Ra; for there cometh a standing still in the Bark and a deep slumber within the

ship. And now he swalloweth three cubits of the Great Water.

Then Sutu is made to flee with a chain upon him of steel and he is forced to vomit all that he hath swallowed. Then Sutu is put into prison.

And then he saith with Words of Power:

Away with thee! Steel, which art made fast upon my hand. I remain in thy prison, the Bark sails on and thou seest the path; but thine eyes close [thine eye is delivered to me], thy head is veiled, and I go on and stay thy steps.

I am the Manful one, who veileth thy head and who cooleth the hollow of thy hand: thy strength is my strength.

I am the Master of the Words of Power.

Who is this who hath been delivered to me?

This Bright One, who cometh on his belly, on his hind parts and on the joints of his back.

Lo! then, I come, and thy might is in my hand. It is I who carry away thy might, that I may come and seize upon the Tunnels of Ra who is united to me at sunset as he goeth round heaven.

But thou art pierced with hooks, as was decreed against thee of old.

I know the powers of the West, they are Tmu, Sebak the Lord of Bachau, and Hathor, Mistress of Sunset.

CHAPTER CIX.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of the East.

I know the Eastern Gate of Heaven (the South of it is by the lake of Cha-ru, and the North of it by the stream of Reu), from whence Ra saileth with favouring gales.

I am the Teller in the divine ship: I am the unresting navigator in the Bark of Ra.

I know those two Sycomores of Emerald between which Ra cometh forth, as he advanceth over what Shu hath lifted up [the Sky], to every gate through which he proceedeth.

I know the Garden of Aarru: the wall of it is steel. The wheat of it is of 7 cubits, the ears of it of 2 cubits, the stalf of it of 4 cubits. The barley of it is of 7 cubits, and the ears are of 4 cubits, and the stalk of 3 cubits.

It is the glorified ones, each of whom is 9 cubits in height, who reap them, in presence of the Powers of the East.

I know the Powers of the East: Horus of the Solar mount, the

Calf in presence of the God, and the Star of Dawn.

A divine Domain hath been constructed for me; I know the name of it; the name of it is the garden of Aarru.

CHAPTER CXV.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth into Heaven, and openeth the Ammehit; and whereby the Powers of Heliopolis are known.

I have grown from yesterday, a Great one among the Great. I have raised myself above all things that come into being.

The Face is revealed to the Eye of the Only One, and the round of darkness is broken through. I am one of you.

I know the Powers of Heliopolis. Doth not the All-powerful One issue from it like one who extendeth a hand to us?

It is with reference to me that the gods say: Lo, the afflicted one is heir of Heliopolis!

I know on what occasion the Lock of the Male child was made.

Ra was speaking with Amhauf, and a blindness came upon him.

Ra said to Amhauf: Take the spear, oh offspring of Men. And Amhauf said: The spear is taken.

Two brethren came into being: They were Heb-ra and Sotemanes, whose arm resteth not; and he assumed the form of a female with a lock, which became the Lock in Heliopolis.

I know the Powers of Heliopolis; they are Ra, Shu and Tefnut.

CHAPTER CX.

The Beginning of the Chapters of the Garden of Hotepit, and of the Chapters of coming forth by day; and of entering and coming forth in the Netherworld, and of arriving at the Garden of Aarru, at the Rise in Hotepit and at the Grand Domain, blest with the breezes: that I may take possession there and be in Glory there: that there I may plow and mow: that there I may eat and drink and love: doing whatsoever things are done upon earth.

Horus is seized by Sutū: who looketh as one turning towards the Garden of Hotepit.

But for me Sutū releaseth Horus: and the double path which is nigh to Heaven is thrown open by Sutū. And Sutū taketh his portion of the breeze through the Power of his own day [?] and he delivereth the bowels of Horus from the gods below.

Lo, I shall sail the great Bark on the Stream of the god Hotep. I took it at the mansion of Shu.

The mansion of his stars is again and again renewed. I sail upon its streams that I may come to the domains thereof.

For I am in unison with his successive changes and his rules, and his papyrus, and his attendant gods, and his chieftains. He reconcileth the two Warrior gods with those who have charge of food and the beautiful creation which he raiseth up. He reconcileth the two Warrior gods with each other.

He severeth the mourners from those who quarrel with them: he putteth a stop to them whose hand is violent against those weaker than themselves: he keepeth within bounds the contentions of the Powers.

May I have possession there.

I know it and I sail upon its streams that I may come to the domains thereof.

My mouth is potent and secured against the Glorified that they may not have the mastery of me.

May I have the investiture of thy Garden, O Hotep. What thou wilt, do thou it.

Let me be glorified there, and eat and drink there, and plough there, and reap there, and grind there, and have my fill of love there.

May my mouth be potent there, let me there utter my Words of Power and not be slighted. [Here the text is uncertain.]

I am in possession of that Word of Power of mine which is the most potent one within this body of mine here: and by means of it I make myself either known or unknown.

I make my progress and I plough.

I take my rest in the divine Domain.

I know the names of the domains, the districts and the streams within the Garden of Hotep.

I am there, I am master there. I am in glory there, I eat there; I plant and I reap there; I plough there, and I take my fill of love. I am united there with god Hotep.

I cast my seed there, and I sail upon its stream that I may come to the domains thereof, O Hotep.

Lo, my mouth is armed with sharp points. There is given to me the abundance which belongeth to the Ka and to the Glorified.

I give the reckoning of Shu to him who understandeth it.

I sail upon its stream, and I range within the Garden of Hotep, for Ra is in the sky, and Hotep is putting together the oblations.

I hasten to the land, and I fasten my stole upon me, that I may come forth, and that that may be given to me which hath to be given;

that I may have joy and take possession of the wealth which Hotep assigneth to me.

Rise in Hotep, I arrive in thee, my soul is with me and my provision is before the Mistress of the Two Earths, who maketh fast my Words of Power, which recall to mind that which I have forgotten. Let me live free from strife; and be there granted to me enlargement of heart.

Let my arteries be made fast, and let me have enjoyment of the Breeze.

Rise in Hotep, blest with the Breeze, I arrive in thee, my head is uncovered: Ra sleepeth but there waketh for me, and there shineth upon the Hesit [the Cow-goddess] who lieth at the confines of Heaven by night.

He standeth in my way who heapeth against me his own dross.

But I am in my own domain.

Great Domain, I arrive in thee and I reckon up the abundance as I pass on to Uach.

I am the Bull, raised on high in the Blue; the lord of the Bull's field; which Sothis describeth to me at her successive hours.

Uach, I arrive in thee, and I eat my cakes, and take possession of my joints of flesh and meat and fowl.

The winged things of Shu are given to me, and my Kau follow me.

Tefait, I arrive in thee, I put on the stole and fasten upon me the girdle of Ra, whilst he is in heaven, and the gods who are in heaven are following Ra.

Rise in Hotep, Lord of the two Earths, I arrive in thee: I salute the stream of *Teserit*. Lo, here am I, and all purity is far from me. The great one flourisheth. . . I net the ducks and I eat dainties.

Kankanit, I arrive in thee; that I may see my father and attentively view my mother.

I take care to net the reptiles; and that which protecteth me is that I know the name of that god who is next to *Teserit* (goddess with flowing locks, and armed with horns), and who reapeth.

I myself plow and reap.

Hesit, I arrive in thee, and I encounter the Blue.

I follow the Breezes, and the company of the gods.

It is the Great goddess who hath given me my hand, and he who fasteneth my head upon me is the Great god, the Blue-eyed, who doeth according to his own will.

Userit, I arrive in thee, in face of the mansion where food is pro-

duced for me.

Smit, I arrive in thee. My heart is awake: my head is provided with the White crown and I am conveyed over the heavens: and I make those things to prosper which are below me: a joy to the Bull of the gods above, the divine company.

I am the Bull, the Lord of the gods; and I make my way through the midst of the Emerald ones.

Isle of Corn and Barley, divine district, I arrive in thee. I encounter and I bear off that which proceedeth from the head of Ra: the pair of horns which have the force of purification.

I make myself fast to the Block of Moorage on the heavenly stream and I utter my praise to the gods who are in the Garden of Hotepit.

CHAPTER CXVII.

Chapter whereby one taketh the blissful path at Restau.

O paths which are high above me at Restau; I am the Girdled and the mighty one, coming forth triumphantly.

I am come: I am come that I may firmly secure my suit in Abydos, and that the path may be open to me at Restau.

Let my suit be made pleasant for me by Osiris.

I am he who produceth the water which balanceth his throne, and who maketh his way from the Great Valley.

Let the path be made for me; for behold I am *N* the triumphant.

[*Osiris is made triumphant over his adversaries, and the Osiris N is made triumphant over his adversaries, and is one of you, his patron is the Lord of Eternity: he walketh even as ye walk, he standeth as ye stand, he speaketh as ye speak, before the great god, the Lord of Amenta.*]

CHAPTER CXXIII.

Chapter whereby one entereth into the Great House.

Hail to thee, O Tmu, I am Thoth.

I have equally balanced the Divine Pair, I have put a stop to their strife, I have ended their complaints.

I have rescued the Atu from his backward course.

I have done what thou hast prescribed for him.

'And I rest since then within my own Eye.

I am free from obstruction; and I come that thou mayst see me in the house where I repeat the ancient ordinances and words as a guid-

ance whereby with thou shalt guide posterity.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

Chapter whereby one cometh to the Divine Circle of Osiris.

My soul buildeth for me a Hall in Tattu and I flourish in Pu.

My fields are ploughed by those who belong to me: therefore is my palm tree like Amsu.

Abominations, abominations, I eat them not. I abominate filth, I eat it not.

[Peace offerings are my food, by which I am not upset.]

I approach it not with my hands: I tread not upon it with my sandals; for my bread is of the white corn and my beer of the red corn of the Nile.

It is the Sektit boat, or it is the Atit boat, which bringeth them to me, and I feed upon them under the foliage of the Tamarisk.

I know how beautiful are the arms which announce Glory for me and the white crown which is lifted up by the divine Uraei.

Oh thou Gate-keeper of him who pacifieth the world, let that be brought to me of which oblations are made, and grant that the floors may be a support for me, and that the glorious god may open to me his arms, and that the company of gods be silent whilst the Hammemit converse with me.

O thou who guidest the hearts of the gods, protect me and let me have power in heaven among the starry ones.

And every divinity who presenteth himself to me, be he reckoned to the forerunners of Ra, be he reckoned to the forerunners of Light and to the Bright ones who deck the sky amid the Mighty ones.

Let me have my fill there of the Bread and Beer with the gods; that I enter through the Sun-disk and come forth through the Divine Pair, that the gods who follow may speak to me, and that Darkness and Night may be terrified before me in Mehiturit, by the side of him "Who is in his sanctuary."

And lo! I am here with Osiris. My measure is his measure among the mighty ones. I speak to him the words of men and I repeat to him the words of gods.

There cometh a glorified one, equipped, who bringeth Maat to those who love her.

I am the Glorified one and the Equipped. And better Equipped am I than any of the Glorified.

CHAPTER CXXV.

PART I.

Said on arriving at the Hall of Righteousness, that *N* may be loosed from all the sins which he hath committed and that he may look upon the divine countenances.

He saith: Hail to thee mighty god, lord of Righteousness! I am come to thee, oh my Lord: I have brought myself that I may look upon thy glory. I know thee, and I know the name of the Forty-two gods who make their appearance with thee in the Hall of Righteousness; devouring those who harbour mischief, and swallowing their blood, upon the Day of the searching examination in presence of Un-neferu.

Verily, 'Thou of the Pair of Eyes, Lord of Righteousness' is thy name.

Here am I; I am come to thee; I bring thee Right and have put a stop to Wrong.

I am not a doer of wrong to men.

I am not one who slayeth his kindred.

I am not one who telleth lies instead of truth.

I am not conscious of treason.

I am not a doer of mischief.

I do not exact as the first fruits of each day more work than should be done for me.

My name cometh not to the Bark of the God who is at the Helm.

I am not a transgressor against a god.

I am not a tale-bearer.

I am not a detractor.

I am not a doer of that which the gods abhor.

I hurt no servant with his master.

I cause no famine.

I cause not weeping.

I am not a murderer.

I give not orders for murder.

I cause not suffering to men.

I reduce not the offerings in the temples.

I lessen not the cakes of the gods.

I rob not the dead of their funeral food.

I am not an adulterer.
 I am undefiled in the Sanctuary of the god of my domain.
 I nether increase nor diminish the measures of grain.
 I am not one who shorteneth the palm's length.
 I am not one who cutteth short the field's measure.
 I do not press upon the beam of the balance.
 I snatch not the milk from the mouth of infants.
 I drive not the cattle from their pastures.
 I net not the birds of the manors of the gods. [?]
 I catch not the fish of their ponds. [?]
 I stop not the water at its appointed time.
 I divide not an arm of the water in its course.
 I extinguish not the lamp during its appointed time.
 I do not defraud the Divine Circle of their sacrificial joints.
 I drive not away the cattle of the sacred estate.
 I stop not a god when he cometh forth.
 I am pure, I am pure, I am pure.

My purity is that of the Great Bennu in Sutenhunem, for I am the Nose of the Lord of the Air, who giveth life to all mortals: on the day when the Eye is full in Annu, on the last day of Mechir; in the presence of the Lord of this land.

And I am one who see the fulness of the Eye in Annu, let no harm come to me in this land, in the Hall of Righteousness; because I know the names of the gods who make their appearance in it.

PART II.

1. Oh thou of long strides, who makest thine appearance in Annu; I am not a doer of wrong.

2. Oh thou who holdest the fire, and makest thine appearance in Cheraba, I am not a man of violence.

3. Oh thou of the Nose, who makest thine appearance at Chemunu; I am not evil-minded.

4. Oh Eater of the Shadow, who makest thine appearance at Elephantine; I am not rapacious.

5. Oh thou of the Serpent face, who makest thine appearance at Re-Stau; I am not a slayer of men.

6. Oh thou of Lion form, who makest thine appearance in Heaven; I am not fraudulent in measures of grain.

7. Oh thou whose eyes (pierce) like swords, who makest thine appearance in Sechem; I commit no fraud.

8. Oh thou of fiery face, whose motion is backwards; I am not

a robber of sacred property.

9. Oh Breaker of bones, who makest thine appearance in Suten-hunen; I am not a teller of lies.

10. Oh thou who orderest the flame, who makest thine appearance in Memphis; I am not a robber of food.

11. Oh thou of the Two Caverns, who makest thine appearance in Amenta; I am not sluggish.

12. Oh thou of the Bright Teeth, who makest thine appearance in the Unseen Land; I am not a transgressor.

13. Oh Eater of Blood, who makest thine appearance at the Block; I have not slaughtered the sacred animals.

14. Oh Eater of Livers, who makest thine appearance at Mabit, I deal not fraudulently.

15. Oh Lord of Righteousness, who makest thine appearance in the place of Righteousness; I am not a land-grabber.

16. Oh thou who turnest backwards, who makest thine appearance in Bubastis; I am not an eaves-dropper.

17. Oh Aati, who makest thine appearance at Annu; I am not one of prating tongue.

18. Oh Tutuf, who makest thine appearance in Ati; I trouble myself only with my own affairs.

19. Oh Uammetu, who makest thine appearance at the Block; I commit not adultery with another's wife.

20. Oh Maa-antu-f, who makest thine appearance in Pa-Amsu, I am not unchaste with anyone.

21. Oh thou who are above Princes, and who makest thine appearance in Amu; I do not cause terrors.

22. Oh Chemiu, who makest thine appearance in Kauu; I am not a transgressor.

23. Oh thou who raisest thy voice, and makest thine appearance in Urit; I am not hot of speech.

24. Oh divine Babe, who makest thine appearance in Annu; I lend not a deaf ear to the words of Righteousness.

25. Oh high-voiced one, who makest thine appearance in Unsit; I am not boisterous in behaviour.

26. Oh Basit, who makest thine appearance at the Shetaït; I am not a cause of weeping to any.

27. Oh thou whose face is behind thee, and who makest thine appearance at thy cavern; I am not given to unnatural lust.

28. Oh thou, hot of foot, who makest thy appearance at even;

I indulge not in anger.

29. Oh Kenemtu, who makest thine appearance in Kenemit; I am not given to cursing.

30. Oh thou who carriest thine own offering, and makest thine appearance in Syut; I am not of aggressive hand.

31. Oh thou who hast different faces, and makest thine appearance in Neteft; I am not of inconstant mind.

32. Oh Busy one, who makest thine appearance at Utenit; I do not steal the skins of sacred animals.

33. Oh thou Horned one, who makest thine appearance at Sais; I am not noisy in my speech.

34. Oh Nefertmu, who makest thine appearance in Memphis; I am neither a liar nor a doer of mischief.

35. Oh Tem-sepu, who makest thine appearance in Tattu; I am not one who curseth the king.

36. Oh thou who doest according to thine own will, and makest thine appearance in Tebuu, I put no check upon the water in its flow.

37. Oh Striker, who makest thine appearance in Heaven; I am not of loud voice.

38. Oh thou who makest mortals to flourish, and who makest thine appearance at Sais; I curse not a god.

39. Oh thou of the beautiful shoulder, who makest thine appearance at ———; I am not swollen with pride.

40. Oh Neheb-kau, who makest thine appearance at thy cavern; I have no unjust preferences.

41. Oh thou of the raised head, who makest thine appearance at thy cavern; I have no strong desire except for my own property.

42. Oh thou who liftest thy arm, and who makest thine appearance in the Netherworld, I do not that which offendeth the god of my domain.

PART III.

[Said upon approaching the gods who are in the Tuat.]

Hail ye gods, I know you and I know your names; let me not be stricken down by your blows; report not the evil which is in me to the god whom ye follow. Let not reverse of mine come to pass through you.

Let not evil things be said against me in presence of the Inviolable One; because I have done the right in Tamerit.

I revile not the god: let not reverse of mine come to pass through the King who resideth within His own Day.

Hail ye gods who are in the Hall of Righteousness, who have nothing wrong about you; who subsist upon Righteousness in Annu, and who sate themselves with cares, in presence of the god who resideth within his own Orb; deliver me from Babai who feedeth upon the livers of princes on the Day of the Great Reckoning.

Behold me: I am come to you, void of wrong, without fraud, a harmless one; let me not be declared guilty: let not the issue be against me.

I subsist upon Righteousness: I sate myself with the uprightness of heart: I have done that which man prescribeth and that which pleaseth the gods.

I have propitiated the god with that which he loveth. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, a boat to the shipwrecked. I have made oblations to the gods and funeral offerings to the departed: I deliver me therefore: protect me therefore: and report not against me in presence of the great god.

I am one whose mouth is pure, and whose hands are pure, to whom is said, "Come, come in peace," by those who look upon him.

For I have listened to the words which were spoken by the Ass and the Cat in the house of Hept-ro.

And I have undergone the inspection of the god whose face is behind him, who awardeth my verdict, so that I may behold what the Persea tree covereth in Restau.

I am one who glorifieth the gods and who knoweth the things which concern them.

I am come and am awaiting that inquisition be made of Rightfulness and that the Balance be set upon its stand within the bower of amaranth.

Oh thou who are exalted upon thy pedestal and who callest thy name, Lord of Air; deliver me from those messengers of thine who inflict disasters and bring about mishaps. No covering have they upon their faces.

For I have done the Righteousness of a Lord of Righteousness.

I have made myself pure; my front parts are washed, my back parts are pure, and my inwards steeped in the Tank of Righteousness. There is not a limb in me which is void of Righteousness.

I purify me at the Southern Tank, and I rest me at the Northern lake, in the Garden of Grasshoppers.

The Boatmen of Ra purify them there at this hour of the night or day and the hearts of the gods are appeased when I pass through

it by night or by day.

Let him come: that is what they say to me.

Who, pray, art thou? that is what they say to me.

What, pray, is thy name? that is what they say to me.

"He who groweth under the Grass and who dwelleth in the Olive tree" is my name.

Pass on then: that is what they say to me.

I pass on then to a place north of the Olive.

What, prithee, didst thou see there?

A thigh and a leg.

And what, prithee, said they to thee?

That I shall see the greetings in the lands there of the Fenchu:

What, prithee, did they give to thee?

A flame of fire and a pillar of crystal.

And what, prithee, didst thou to them?

I buried them on the bank of the Lake of Maait as Provision of the Evening.

What, prithee, didst thou find there on the bank of the Lake of Maait?

A sceptre of flint: 'Giver of Breath,' is its name.

And what didst thou to the flame and to the pillar of crystal after thou hadst buried them?

I cried out after them and drew them forth, and I extinguished the fire, and I broke the pillar and I made a Tank.

Thou mayst now enter through the door of the hall of Righteousness, for thou knowest us.

I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the Leaf of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Pointer of Truth" is thy name.

I allow thee not to pass by me, and saith the right side post of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Scale-pan of one who lifteth up Right," is thy name.

I allow thee not to pass over me, saith the Threshold of the Door, unless thou tell thy name:

"Ox of Seb" is thy name.

I open not to the, saith the Lock of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"Bone of An-maut-ef" is thy name.

I open not to thee, saith the Latch, unless thou tell my name:

"The Eye of Sebak, Lord of Bachan," is thy name.

I open not to thee and I allow thee not to pass by me, saith the Keeper of the Door, unless thou tell my name:

"The Knee of Shu, which he hath lent for the support of Osiris," is thy name.

We allow thee not to pass by us, say the Lintels of the Door, unless thou tell us our names:

"The dragon brood of Renenut" is your name.

Thou knowest us; pass therefore by us.

I allow thee not to pass over me, saith the Floor of the Hall, for the reason that I am noiseless and clean, and because we know not the names of thy two feet, wherewith thou wouldst walk upon us. Tell me, then, their names.

"He who goeth before Amsu," is the name of my right foot and "The Truncheon of Hathor" is the name of my left foot.

Thou mayst walk over us: for thou knowest us.

I do not announce thee, saith the Doorkeeper, unless thou tell my name.

"He who knoweth the heart and exploreth the person" is thy name.

Then I will announce thee.

But who is that god who abideth in his own hour? Name him.

He who provideth for the Two Worlds.

Who, pray, is it? It is Thoth.

Come hither, saith Thoth, wherefore hast thou come?

I am come, and wait to be announced.

And what manner of man, prithee, art thou?

I have cleansed myself from all the sins and faults of those who abide in their own day; for I am no longer among them.

Then I shall announce thee.

But who is he whose roof is of fire, and whose walls are living Uraei, and the floor of whose house is of running water? Who is it?

It is Osiris.

Proceed then: for behold, thou art announced.

Thy bread is from the Eye, thy beer is from the Eye, and the funeral meals offered upon earth will come forth to thee from the Eye. So it is decreed for me.

This chapter is said by the person, when purified and clad in raiment; shod with white sandals; annointed from vases of anta; and presenting oblations of beeves, birds, incense, bread, beer, and vegetables.

And thou shalt make a picture, drawn upon a clean brick of clay, extracted from a field in which no swine hath trod.

And if this chapter is written upon it—the man will prosper and his children will prosper; he will rise in the affection of the king and his court: there will be given to him the shesit cake, the measure of drink, the persen cake and the meat offering upon the altar table of the great god; and he shall not be cut off at any gate of Amenta, but he shall be conveyed along with the Kings of North and South, and make his appearance as a follower of Osiris: undeviatingly and for times infinite.

TRANSLATED BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

HYMN TO THE NILE

I.

ADORATION to the Nile!
Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifesteth thyself over this land
And comest to give life to Egypt!
Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness,
On this day whereon it is celebrated!
Watering the orchards created by Ra
To cause all the cattle to live,
Thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one!
Path that descendest from the sky,
Loving the bread of Seb and the first-fruits of Nepera,
Thou causest the workshops of Ptah to prosper!

II.

Lord of the fish, during the inundation,
No bird alights on the crops.
Thou createst the corn, thou bringest forth the barley,
Assuring perpetuity to the temples.
If thou ceaseest thy toil and thy work,
Then all that exists is in anguish.
If the gods suffer in heaven
Then the faces of men waste away.

III.

Then he torments the flocks of Egypt,
 And great and small are in agony.
 But all is changed for mankind when he comes;
 He is endowed with the qualities of Num.
 If he shines, the earth is joyous,
 Every stomach is full of rejoicing,
 Every spine is happy,
 Every jaw-bone crushes (its food).

IV.

He brings the offerings, as chief of provisioning;
 He is the creator of all good things,
 As master of energy, full of sweetness in his choice.
 If offerings are made it is thanks to him.
 He brings forth the herbage for the flocks,
 And sees that each god receives his sacrifices.
 All that depends on him is a precious incense.
 He spreads himself over Egypt,
 Filling the granaries, renewing the marts,
 Watching over the goods of the unhappy.

V.

He is prosperous to the height of all desires,
 Without fatiguing himself therefor.
 He brings again his lordly bark;
 He is not sculptured in stone, in the statutes crowned with the
 uræus serpent,
 He cannot be contemplated.
 No servitors has he, no bearers of offerings!
 He is not enticed by incantations!
 None knows the place where he dwells,
 None discovers his retreat by the power of a written spell

VI.

No dwelling (is there) which may contain thee!
 None penetrates within thy heart!
 Thy young men, thy children applaud thee
 And render unto thee royal homage.

Stable are thy decrees for Egypt
Before thy servants of the North!
He stanches the water from all eyes
And watches over the increase of his good things.

VII.

Where misery existed, joy manifests itself;
All beasts rejoice.
The children of Sebek, the sons of Neit,
The cycle of the gods which dwells in him, are prosperous.
No more reservoirs for watering the fields!
He makes mankind valiant,
Enriching some, bestowing his love on others.
None commands at the same time as himself.
He creates the offerings without the aid of Neit,
Making mankind for himself with multiiform care.

VIII.

He shines when he issues forth from the darkness,
To cause his flocks to prosper.
It is his force that gives existence to all things;
Nothing remains hidden for him.
Let men clothe themselves to fill his gardens.
He watches over his works,
Producing the inundation during the night.
It is a god Ptah . . .
He causes all his servants to exist,
All writings and divine words,
And that which he needs in the North.

IX.

It is with the words that he penetrates into his dwelling;
He issues forth at his pleasure through the magic spells.
Thy unkindness brings destruction to the fish;
It is then that prayer is made for the (annual) water of the season;
Southern Egypt is seen in the same state as the North.
Each one is with his instruments of labour.
None remains behind his companions.
None clothes himself with garments,
The children of the noble put aside their ornaments.

The night remains silent,
But all is changed by the inundation;
It is a healing-balm for all mankind.

X.

Establisher of justice! mankind desires thee,
Supplicating thee to answer their prayers;
Thou answerest them by the inundation!
Men offer the first-fruits of corn;
All the gods adore thee!
The birds descend not on the soil.
It is believed that with thy hand of gold
Thou makest bricks of silver!
But we are not nourished on lapis-lazuli;
Corn alone gives vigour.

XI.

A festal song is raised for thee on the harp,
With the accompaniment of the hand.
Thy young men and thy children acclaim thee
And prepare their (long) exercises.
Thou art the august ornament of the earth,
Letting thy bark advance before men,
Lifting up the heart of women in labour,
And loving the multitude of the flocks.

XII.

When thou shinest in the royal city,
The rich man is sated with good things,
The poor man even disdains the lotus;
All that is produced is of the choicest;
All the plants exist for thy children.
If thou hast refused (to grant) nourishment,
The dwelling is silent, devoid of all that is good
The country falls exhausted.

XIII.

O inundation of the Nile,
Offerings are made unto thee,
Oxen are immolated to thee,

EGYPT

88

Great festivals are instituted for thee.
Birds are sacrificed to thee,
Gazelles are taken for thee in the mountain,
Pure flames are prepared for thee.
Sacrifice is made to every god as it is made to the Nile.
The Nile has made its retreats in Southern Egypt,
Its name is not known beyond the Tuau.
The god manifests not his forms,
He baffles all conception.

XIV.

Men exalt him like the cycle of the gods,
They dread him who creates the heat,
Even him who has made his son the universal master
In order to give prosperity to Egypt.
Come (and) prosper! come (and) prosper!
O Nile, come (and) prosper!
[O thou who makest men to live through his flocks
And his flocks through his orchards!
Come (and) prosper, come,
O Nile, come (and) prosper!]

This work has been successfully finished and dedicated to the scribe
of the treasury Qaqabu [by the scribe Ennana].

TRANSLATED BY PAUL GUIEYSSE.

“FIRST HAND OBSERVATIONS”

BY HERODOTUS

CONCERNING EGYPT itself I shall extend my remarks to a great length, because there is no country that possesses so many wonders, nor any that has such a number of works which defy description. Not only is the climate different from that of the rest of the world, and the rivers unlike any other rivers, but the people also, in most of their manners and customs, exactly reverse the common practice of mankind.

The women attend the markets and trade, while the men sit at home at the loom; and here, while the rest of the world works the woof up the warp, the Egyptians work it down; the women likewise carry burthens upon their shoulders, while the men carry them upon their heads. They eat their food out of doors in the streets, but retire for private purposes to their houses, giving as a reason that what is unseemly, but necessary, ought to be done in secret, but what has nothing unseemly about it, should be done openly. A woman cannot serve the priestly office, either for god or goddess, but men are priests to both; sons need not support their parents unless they choose, but daughters must, whether they choose or no.

36. In other countries the priests have long hair, in Egypt their heads are shaven; elsewhere it is customary, in mourning, for near relations to cut their hair close; the Egyptians, who wear no hair at any other time, when they lose a relative, let their beards and the hair of their heads grow long. All other men pass their lives separate from animals, the Egyptians have animals always living with them; others make barley and wheat their food, it is a disgrace to do so in Egypt, where the grain they live on is spelt, which some call *zea*. Dough they knead with their feet, but they mix mud, and even take up dirt, with their hands. They are the only people in the world—they at least, and such as have learnt the practice from them—who use circumcision. Their men wear two garments apiece, their women but one. They put on the rings and fasten the ropes to sails inside, others put them outside. When they write or calculate, instead of going, like the Greeks, from left to right, they move their hand from right to left; and they insist, notwithstanding, that it is they who go to the right, and the Greeks who go to the left. They have two quite different kinds of writing, one of which is called sacred, the other common.

37. They are religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men, and use the following ceremonies:—They drink out of brazen cups, which they scour every day: there is no exception to this practice. They wear linen garments, which they are specially careful to have always fresh washed. They practise circumcision for the sake of cleanliness, considering it better to be cleanly than comely. The priests shave their whole body every other day, that no lice or other impure thing may adhere to them when they are engaged in the service of the gods. Their dress is entirely of linen, and their shoes of the papyrus plant: it is not lawful for them to wear either dress or shoes of any other material. They bathe twice every day in cold

A ROCK AND A STELE BEARING EGYPTIAN
HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

A BOOK AND A PEOPLE
THE HISTORY OF THE
INDIAN PEOPLE



water, and twice each night. Besides which they observe, so to speak, thousands of ceremonies. They enjoy, however, not a few advantages. They consume none of their own property, and are at no expense for anything; but every day bread is baked for them of the sacred corn, and a plentiful supply of beef and of goose's flesh is assigned to each, and also a portion of wine made from the grape. Fish they are not allowed to eat; and beans,—which none of the Egyptians ever sow, or eat, if they come up of their own accord, either raw or boiled—the priests will not even endure to look on, since they consider it an unclean kind of pulse. Instead of a single priest, each god has the attendance of a college, at the head of which is a chief priest; when one of these dies, his son is appointed in his room.

38. Male kine are reckoned to belong to Epaphus, and are therefore tested in the following manner:—One of the priests appointed for the purpose searches to see if there is a single black hair on the whole body, since in that case the beast is unclean. He examines him all over, standing on his legs, and again laid upon his back; after which he takes the tongue out of his mouth, to see if it be clean in respect of the prescribed marks (what they are I will mention elsewhere); he also inspects the hairs of the tail, to observe if they grow naturally. If the animal is pronounced clean in all these various points, the priest marks him by twisting a piece of papyrus round his horns, and attaching thereto some sealing-clay, which he then stamps with his own signet-ring. After this the beast is led away; and it is forbidden, under the penalty of death, to sacrifice an animal which has not been marked in this way.

39. The following is their manner of sacrifice:—They lead the victim, marked with their signet, to the altar where they are about to offer it, and setting the wood alight, pour a libation of wine upon the altar in front of the victim, and at the same time invoke the god. Then they slay the animal, and cutting off his head, proceed to flay the body. Next they take the head, and heaping imprecations on it, if there is a market-place and a body of Greek traders in the city, they carry it there and sell it instantly; if, however, there are no Greeks among them, they throw the head into the river. The imprecation is to this effect:—They pray that if any evil is impending either over those who sacrifice, or over universal Egypt, it may be made to fall upon that head. These practices, the imprecations upon the heads, and the libations of wine, prevail all over Egypt, and extend to vic-

tims of all sorts; and hence the Egyptians will never eat the head of any animal.

40. The disemboweling and burning are however different in different sacrifices. I will mention the mode in use with respect to the goddess whom they regard as the greatest, and honour with the chiefest festival. When they have flayed their steer they pray, and when their prayer is ended they take the paunch of the animal out entire, leaving the intestines and the fat inside the body; they then cut off the legs, the end of the loins, the shoulders, and the neck; and having so done, they fill the body of the steer with clean bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics. Thus filled, they burn the body, pouring over it great quantities of oil. Before offering the sacrifice they fast, and while the bodies of the victims are being consumed they beat themselves. Afterwards, when they have concluded this part of the ceremony, they have the other parts of the victim served up to them for a repast.

41. The male kine, therefore, if clean, and the male calves, are used for sacrifice by the Egyptians universally; but the female they are not allowed to sacrifice, since they are sacred to Isis. The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io; and the Egyptians, one and all, venerate cows much more highly than any other animal. This is the reason why no native of Egypt, whether man or woman, will give a Greek a kiss, or use the knife of a Greek, or his spit, or his cauldron, or taste the flesh of an ox, known to be pure, if it has been cut with a Greek knife. When kine die, the following is the manner of their sepulture:—The females are thrown into the river; the males are buried in the suburbs of the towns, with one or both of their horns appearing above the surface of the ground to mark the place. When the bodies are decayed, a boat comes, at an appointed time, from the island called Prosopitis,—which is a portion of the Delta, nine schoenes in circumference,—and calls at the several cities in turn to collect the bones of the oxen. Prosopitis is a district containing several cities; the name of that from which the boats come is Atarbechis. Venus has a temple there of much sanctity. Great numbers of men go forth from this city and proceed to the other towns, where they dig up the bones, which they take away with them and bury together in one place. The same practice prevails with respect to the interment of all other cattle—the law so determining; they do not slaughter any of them.

42. Such Egyptians as possess a temple of the Theban Jove, or live in the Thebaic canton, offer no sheep in sacrifice, but only goats; for the Egyptians do not all worship the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom they say is the Grecian Bacchus. Those, on the contrary, who possess a temple dedicated to Mendes, or belong to the Mendesian canton, abstain from offering goats, and sacrifice sheep instead. The Thebans, and such as imitate them in their practice, give the following account of the origin of the custom:—"Hercules," they say, "wished of all things to see Jove, but Jove did not choose to be seen of him. At length, when Hercules persisted, Jove hit on a device—to flay a ram, and, cutting off his head, hold the head before him, and cover himself with the fleece. In this guise he showed himself to Hercules." Therefore the Egyptians give their statues of Jupiter the face of a ram; and from them the practice has passed to the Ammonians, who are a joint colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, speaking a language between the two; hence also, in my opinion, the latter people took their name of Ammonians, since the Egyptian name for Jupiter is Amun. Such then is the reason why the Thebans do not sacrifice rams, but consider them sacred animals. Upon one day in the year, however, at the festival of Jupiter, they slay a single ram, and stripping off the fleece, cover with it the statue of that god, as he once covered himself, and then bring up to the statue of Jove an image of Hercules. When this has been done, the whole assembly beat their breasts in mourning for the ram, and afterwards bury him in a holy sepulchre.

43. The account which I received of this Hercules makes him one of the twelve gods. Of the other Hercules, with whom the Greeks are familiar, I could hear nothing in any part of Egypt. That the Greeks, however (those I mean who gave the son of Amphitryon that name), took the name from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Greeks, is I think clearly proved, among other arguments, by the fact that both the parents of Hercules, Amphitryon as well as Alcmena, were of Egyptian origin. Again, the Egyptians disclaim all knowledge of the names of Neptune and the Dioscuri, and do not include them in the number of their gods; but had they adopted the name of any god from the Greeks, these would have been the likeliest to obtain notice, since the Egyptians, as I am well convinced, practised navigation at that time, and the Greeks also were some of them mariners, so that they would have been more likely to know the names of these gods than that of Hercules. But the Egyptian Her-

cules is one of their ancient gods. Seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, the twelve gods were, they affirm, produced from the eight: and of these twelve, Hercules is one.

44. In the wish to get the best information that I could on these matters, I made a voyage to Tyre in Phœnicia, hearing there was a temple of Hercules at that place, very highly venerated. I visited the temple, and found it richly adorned with a number of offerings, among which were two pillars, one of pure gold, the other of emerald, shining with great brilliancy at night. In a conversation which I held with the priests, I inquired how long their temple had been built, and found by their answer that they too differed from the Greeks. They said that the temple was built at the same time that the city was founded, and that the foundation of the city took place two thousand three hundred years ago. In Tyre I remarked another temple where the same god was worshipped as the Thasian Hercules. So I went on to Thaos, where I found a temple of Hercules which had been built by the Phœnicians who colonised that island when they sailed in search of Europa. Even this was five generations earlier than the time when Hercules, son of Amphytryon, was born in Greece. These researches show plainly that there is an ancient god Hercules; and my own opinion is, that those Greeks act most wisely who build and maintain two temples of Hercules, in the one of which the Hercules worshipped is known by the name of Olympian, and has sacrifice offered to him as an immortal, while in the other the honours paid are such as are due to a hero.

45. The Greeks tell many tales without due investigation, and among them the following silly fable respecting Hercules:—"Hercules," they say, "went once to Egypt, and there the inhabitants took him, and putting a chaplet on his head, led him out in solemn procession, intending to offer him a sacrifice to Jupiter. For a while he submitted quietly; but when they led him up to the altar, and began the ceremonies, he put forth his strength and slew them all." Now to me it seems that such a story proves the Greeks to be utterly ignorant of the character and customs of the people. The Egyptians do not think it allowable even to sacrifice cattle, excepting sheep, and the male kine and calves, provided they be pure, and also geese. How then can it be believed that they would sacrifice men? And again, how would it have been possible for Hercules alone, and, as they confess, a mere mortal, to destroy so many thousands? In saying thus much concerning these matters, may I incur no displeasure either of

god or hero!

46. I mentioned above that some of the Egyptians abstain from sacrificing goats, either male or female. The reason is the following:—These Egyptians, who are the Mendesians, consider Pan to be one of the eight gods who existed before the twelve, and Pan is represented in Egypt by the painters and the sculptors, just as he is in Greece, with the face and legs of a goat. They do not, however, believe this to be his shape, or consider him in any respect unlike the other gods; but they represent him thus for a reason which I prefer not to relate. The Mendesians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goatherds of the males especial honour. One is venerated more highly than all the rest, and when he dies there is a great mourning throughout all the Mendesian canton. In Egyptian, the goat and Pan are both called Mendes.

47. The pig is regarded among them as an unclean animal, so much so that if a man in passing accidentally touch a pig, he instantly hurries to the river, and plunges in with all his clothes on. Hence too the swineherds, notwithstanding that they are of pure Egyptian blood, are forbidden to enter into any of the temples, which are open to all other Egyptians; and further, no one will give his daughter in marriage to a swineherd, or take a wife from among them, so that the swineherds are forced to intermarry among themselves. They do not offer swine in sacrifice to any of their gods, excepting Bacchus and the Moon, whom they honour in this way at the same time, sacrificing pigs to both of them at the same full moon, and afterwards eating of the flesh. There is a reason alleged by them for their detestation of swine at all other seasons, and their use of them at this festival, with which I am well acquainted, but which I do not think it proper to mention. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice the swine to the Moon:—As soon as the victim is slain, the tip of the tail, the spleen, and the caul are put together, and having been covered with all the fat that has been found in the animal's belly, are straightway burnt. The remainder of the flesh is eaten on the same day that the sacrifice is offered, which is the day of the full moon: at any other time they would not so much as taste it. The poorer sort, who cannot afford live pigs, form pigs of dough, which they bake and offer in sacrifice.

48. To Bacchus, on the eve of his feast, every Egyptian sacrifices a hog before the door of his house, which is then given back to the swineherd by whom it was furnished, and by him carried away.

In other respects the festival is celebrated almost exactly as Bacchic festivals are in Greece, excepting that the Egyptians have no choral dances. They also use instead of phalli another invention, consisting of images a cubit high, pulled by strings, which the women carry round to the villages. A piper goes in front, and the women follow, singing hymns in honour of Bacchus. They give a religious reason for the peculiarities of the image.

49. Melampus, the son of Amytheon, cannot (I think) have been ignorant of this ceremony — nay, he must, I should conceive, have been well acquainted with it. He it was who introduced into Greece the name of Bacchus, the ceremonial of his worship, and the procession of the phallus. He did not, however, so completely apprehend the whole doctrine as to be able to communicate it entirely, but various sages since his time have carried out his teaching to greater perfection. Still it is certain that Melampus introduced the phallus, and that the Greeks learnt from him the ceremonies which they now practise. I therefore maintain that Melampus, who was a wise man, and had acquired the art of divination, having become acquainted with the worship of Bacchus through knowledge derived from Egypt, introduced it into Greece, with a few slight changes, at the same time that he brought in various other practices. For I can by no means allow that it is by mere coincidence that the Bacchic ceremonies in Greece are so nearly the same as the Egyptian—they would then have been more Greek in their character, and less recent in their origin. Much less can I admit that the Egyptians borrowed these customs, or any other, from the Greeks. My belief is that Melampus got his knowledge of them from Cadmus the Tyrian, and the followers whom he brought from Phoenicia into the country which is now called Bœotia.

50. Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt. My inquiries prove that they were all derived from a foreign source, and my opinion is that Egypt furnished the greater number. For with the exception of Neptune and the Dioscuri, whom I mentioned above, and Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the other gods have been known from time immemorial in Egypt. This I assert on the authority of the Egyptians themselves. The gods, with whose names they profess themselves unacquainted, the Greeks received, I believe, from the Pelasgi, except Neptune. Of him they got their knowledge from the Libyans, by whom he has been always honoured, and who were anciently the only people that had

a god of the name. The Egyptians differ from the Greeks also in paying no divine honours to heroes.

51. Besides these which have been here mentioned, there are many other practices whereof I shall speak hereafter, which the Greeks have borrowed from Egypt. The peculiarity, however, which they observe in their statues of Mercury they did not derive from the Egyptians, but from the Pelasgi; from them the Athenians first adopted it, and afterwards it passed from the Athenians to the other Greeks. For just at the time when the Athenians were entering into the Hellenic body, the Pelasgi came to live with them in their country, whence it was that the latter came first to be regarded as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the mysteries of the Cabiri will understand what I mean. The Samothracians received these mysteries from the Pelasgi, who, before they went to live in Attica, were dwellers in Samothrace, and imparted their religious ceremonies to the inhabitants. The Athenians, then, who were the first of all the Greeks to make their statues of Mercury in this way, learnt the practice from the Pelasgians; and by this people a religious account of the matter is given, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

52. In early times the Pelasgi, as I know by information which I got at Dodona, offered sacrifices of all kinds, and prayed to the gods, but had no distinct names or appellations for them, since they had never heard of any. They called them gods (*theoi*, disposers), because they had disposed and arranged all things in such a beautiful order. After a long lapse of time the names of the gods came to Greece from Egypt, and the Pelasgi learnt them, only as yet they knew nothing of Bacchus, of whom they first heard at a much later date. Not long after the arrival of the names they sent to consult the oracle at Dodona about them. This is the most ancient oracle in Greece, and at that time there was no other. To their question, "Whether they should adopt the names that had been imported from the foreigners?" the oracle replied by recommending their use. Thenceforth in their sacrifices the Pelasgi made use of the names of the gods, and from them the names passed afterwards to the Greeks.

53. Whence the gods severally sprang, whether or no they had all existed from eternity, what forms they bore—these are questions of which the Greeks knew nothing until the other day, so to speak. For Homer and Hesiod were the first to compose Theogonies, and give the gods their epithets, to allot them their several offices and occupations. and describe their forms; and they lived but four hundred

years before my time, as I believe. As for the poets, who are thought by some to be earlier than these, they are, in my judgment, decidedly later writers. In these matters I have the authority of the priestesses of Dodona for the former portion of my statements; what I have said of Homer and Hesiod is my own opinion.

54. The following tale is commonly told in Egypt concerning the oracle of Dodona in Greece, and that of Ammon in Libya. My informants on the point were the priests of Jupiter at Thebes. They said "that two of the sacred women were once carried off from Thebes by the Phœnicians, and that the story went that one of them was sold into Libya, and the other into Greece, and these women were the first founders of the oracles in the two countries." On my inquiring how they came to know so exactly what became of the women, they answered, "that diligent search had been made after them at the time, but that it had not been found possible to discover where they were; afterwards, however, they received the information which they had given me."

55. This was what I heard from the priests at Thebes; at Dodona, however, the women who deliver the oracles relate the matter as follows:—"Two black doves flew away from Egyptian Thebes, and while one directed its flight to Libya, the other came to them. She alighted on an oak, and sitting there began to speak with a human voice, and told them that on the spot where she was, there should thenceforth be an oracle of Jove. They understood the announcement to be from heaven, so they set to work at once and erected the shrine. The dove which flew to Libya bade the Libyans to establish there the oracle of Ammon." This likewise is an oracle of Jupiter. The persons from whom I received these particulars were three priestesses of the Dodonæans who dwell around the temple.

56. My own opinion of these matters is as follows:—I think that, if it be true that the Phœnicians carried off the holy women, and sold them for slaves, the one into Libya and the other into Greece, or Pelasgia (as it was then called), this last must have been sold to the Thesprotians. Afterwards, while undergoing servitude in those parts, she built under a real oak a temple to Jupiter, her thoughts in her new abode reverting—as it was likely they would do, if she had been an attendant in a temple of Jupiter at Thebes—to that particular god. Then, having acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue, she set up an oracle. She also mentioned that her sister had been sold for a slave into Libya by the same persons as herself.

57. The Dodonæans called the women doves because they were foreigners, and seemed to them to make a noise like birds. After a while the dove spoke with a human voice, because the woman, whose foreign talk had previously sounded to them like the chattering of a bird, acquired the power of speaking what they could understand. For how can it be conceived possible that a dove should really speak with the voice of a man? Lastly, by calling the dove black the Dodonæans indicated that the woman was an Egyptian. And certainly the character of the oracles at Thebes and Dodona is very similar. Besides this form of divination, the Greeks learnt also divination by means of victims from the Egyptians.

58. The Egyptians were also the first to introduce solemn assemblies, processions, and litanies to the gods; of all which the Greeks were taught the use by them. It seems to me a sufficient proof of this, that in Egypt these practices have been established from remote antiquity, while in Greece they are only recently known.

59. The Egyptians do not hold a single solemn assembly, but several in the course of the year. Of these the chief, which is better attended than any other, is held at the city of Bubastis in honour of Diana. The next in importance is that which takes place at Busiris, a city situated in the very middle of the Delta; it is in honour of Isis, who is called in the Greek tongue Demeter (Ceres). There is a third great festival in Sais to Minerva, a fourth in Heliopolis to the Sun, a fifth in Buto to Latona, and a sixth in Papremis to Mars.

60. The following are the proceedings on occasion of the assembly at Bubastis:—Men and women come sailing all together, vast numbers in each boat, many of the women with castanets, which they strike, while some of the men pipe during the whole time of the voyage; the remainder of the voyagers, male and female, sing the while, and making a clapping with their hands. When they arrive opposite any of the towns upon the banks of the stream, they approach the shore, and, while some of the women continue to play and sing, others call aloud to the females of the place and load them with abuse, while a certain number dance, and some standing up uncover themselves. After proceeding in this way all along the river-course, they reach Bubastis, where they celebrate the feast with abundant sacrifices. More grape-wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year besides. The number of those who attend, counting only the men and women and omitting the children, amounts, according to the native reports, to seven hundred thousand.

61. The ceremonies at the feast of Isis in the city of Busiris have been already spoken of. It is there that the whole multitude, both of men and women, many thousands in number, beat themselves at the close of the sacrifice, in honour of a god, whose name a religious scruple forbids me to mention. The Carian dwellers in Egypt proceed on this occasion to still greater lengths, even cutting their faces with their knives, whereby they let it be seen that they are not Egyptians but foreigners.

62. At Sais, when the assembly takes place for the sacrifices, there is one night on which the inhabitants all burn a multitude of lights in the open air round their houses. They use lamps, which are flat saucers filled with a mixture of oil and salt, on the top of which the wick floats. These burn the whole night, and give to the festival the name of the Feast of Lamps. The Egyptians who are absent from the festival observe the night of the sacrifice, no less than the rest, by a general lighting of lamps; so that the illumination is not confined to the city of Sais but extends over the whole of Egypt. And there is a religious reason assigned for the special honour paid to this night, as well as for the illumination which accompanies it.

63. At Heliopolis and Buto the assemblies are merely for the purpose of sacrifice; but at Papremis, besides the sacrifices and other rites which are performed there as elsewhere, the following custom is observed. When the sun is getting low, a few only of the priests continue occupied about the image of the god, while the greater number, armed with wooden clubs, take their station at the portal of the temple. Opposite to them is drawn up a body of men, in number above a thousand, armed, like the others, with clubs, consisting of persons engaged in the performance of their vows. The image of the god, which is kept in a small wooden shrine covered with plates of gold, is conveyed from the temple into a second sacred building the day before the festival begins. The few priests still in attendance upon the image place it, together with the shrine containing it, on a four-wheeled car, and begin to drag it along; the others, stationed at the gateway of the temple, oppose its admission. Then the votaries come forward to espouse the quarrel of the god, and set upon the opponents, who are sure to offer resistance. A sharp fight with clubs ensues, in which heads are commonly broken on both sides. Many, I am convinced, die of the wounds that they receive, though the Egyptians insist that no one is ever killed.

64. The natives give the subjoined account of the festival. They

say that the mother of the god Mars once dwelt in the temple. Brought up at a distance from his parent, when he grew to man's estate he conceived a wish to visit her. Accordingly he came, but the attendants, who had never seen him before, refused him entrance, and succeeded in keeping him out. So he went to another city and collected a body of men, with whose aid he handled the attendants very roughly, and forced his way to his mother. Hence they say arose the custom of a fight with sticks in honour of Mars at this festival.

The Egyptians first made it a point of religion to have no converse with women in the sacred places, and not to enter them without washing, after such converse. Almost all other nations, except the Greeks and the Egyptians, act differently, regarding man as in this matter under no other law than the brutes. Many animals, they say, and various kinds of birds may be seen to couple in the temples and the sacred precincts, which would certainly not happen if the gods were displeased at it. Such are the arguments by which they defend their practice, but I nevertheless can by no means approve of it. In these points the Egyptians are specially careful, as they are indeed in every thing which concerns their sacred edifices.

65. Egypt, though it borders upon Libya, is not a region abounding in wild animals. The animals that do exist in the country, whether domesticated or otherwise, are all regarded as sacred. If I were to explain why they are consecrated to the several gods, I should be led to speak of religious matters, which I particularly shrink from mentioning; the points whereon I have touched slightly hitherto have all been introduced from sheer necessity. Their custom with respect to animals is as follows. For every kind there are appointed certain guardians, some male, some female, whose business it is to look after them; and this honour is made to descend from father to son. The inhabitants of the various cities, when they have made a vow to any god, pay it to his animals in the way which I will now explain. At the time of making the vow they shave the head of the child, cutting off all the hair, or else half, or sometimes a third part, which they then weigh in a balance against a sum of silver; and whatever sum the hair weighs is presented to the guardian of the animals, who thereupon cuts up some fish, and gives it to them for food—such being the stuff whereon they are fed. When a man has killed one of the sacred animals, if he did it with malice prepense, he is punished with death; if unwittingly, he has to pay such a fine as the priests choose to impose. When an ibis, however, or a hawk is killed, whether it was done by

accident or on purpose, the man must needs die.

66. The number of domestic animals in Egypt is very great, and would be still greater were it not for what befalls the cats. As the females, when they have kittened, no longer seek the company of the males, these last, to obtain once more their companionship, practise a curious artifice. They seize the kittens, carry them off, and kill them, but do not eat them afterwards. Upon this the females, being deprived of their young, and longing to supply their place, seek the males once more, since they are particularly fond of their offspring. On every occasion of a fire in Egypt the strangest prodigy occurs with the cats. The inhabitants allow the fire to rage as it pleases, while they stand about at intervals and watch these animals, which, slipping by the men or else leaping over them, rush headlong into the flames. When this happens, the Egyptians are in deep affliction. If a cat dies in a private house by a natural death, all the inmates of the house shave their eyebrows; on the death of a dog they shave the head and the whole of the body.

67. The cats on their decease are taken to the city of Bubastis, where they are embalmed, after which they are buried in certain sacred repositories. The dogs are interred in the cities to which they belong, also in sacred burial-places. The same practice obtains with respect to the ichneumons; the hawks and shrew-mice, on the contrary, are conveyed to the city of Buto for burial, and the ibises to Hermopolis. The bears, which are scarce in Egypt, and the wolves, which are not much bigger than foxes, they bury wherever they happen to find them lying.

68. The following are the peculiarities of the crocodile :—During the four winter months they eat nothing; they are four-footed, and live indifferently on land or in the water. The female lays and hatches her eggs ashore, passing the greater portion of the day on dry land, but at night retiring to the river, the water of which is warmer than the night-air and the dew. Of all known animals this is the one which from the smallest size grows to be the greatest: for the egg of the crocodile is but little bigger than that of the goose, and the young crocodile is in proportion to the egg; yet when it is full grown, the animal measures frequently seventeen cubits and even more. It has the eyes of a pig, teeth large and tusk-like, of a size proportioned to its frame; unlike any other animal, it is without a tongue; it cannot move its under-jaw, and in this respect too it is singular, being the only animal in the world which moves the upper-jaw but not the under.

It has strong claws and a scaly skin, impenetrable upon the back. In the water it is blind, but on land it is very keen of sight. As it lives chiefly in the river, it has the inside of its mouth constantly covered with leeches; hence it happens that, while all the other birds and beasts avoid it, with the trochilus it lives at peace, since it owes much to that bird: for the crocodile, when he leaves the water and comes out upon the land, is in the habit of lying with his mouth wide open, facing the western breeze: at such times the trochilus goes into his mouth and devours the leeches. This benefits the crocodile, who is pleased, and takes care not to hurt the trochilus.

69. The crocodile is esteemed sacred by some of the Egyptians, by others he is treated as an enemy. Those who live near Thebes, and those who dwell around Lake Mœris, regard them with especial veneration. In each of these places they keep one crocodile in particular, who is taught to be tame and tractable. They adorn his ears with earrings of molten stone or gold, and put bracelets on his fore-paws, giving him daily a set portion of bread, with a certain number of victims; and, after having thus treated him with the greatest possible attention while alive, they embalm him when he dies and bury him in a sacred repository. The people of Elephantine, on the other hand, are so far from considering these animals as sacred that they even eat their flesh. In the Egyptian language they are not called crocodiles, but Champsæ. The name of crocodile was given them by the Ionians, who remarked their resemblance to the lizards, which in Ionio live in the walls, and are called crocodiles.

70. The modes of catching the crocodile are many and various. I shall only describe the one which seems to me most worthy of mention. They bait a hook with a chine of pork and let the meat be carried out into the middle of the stream, while the hunter upon the bank holds a living pig, which he belabours. The crocodile hears its cries and, making for the sound, encounters the pork, which he instantly swallows down. The men on the shore haul, and when they have got him to land, the first thing the hunter does is to plaster his eyes with mud. This once accomplished, the animal is despatched with ease, otherwise he gives great trouble.

71. The hippopotamus, in the canton of Papremis, is a sacred animal, but not in any other part of Egypt. It may be thus described:—It is a quadruped, cloven-footed, with hoofs like an ox, and a flat nose. It has the mane and tail of a horse, huge tusks which are very conspicuous, and a voice like a horse's neigh. In size it equals the

biggest oxen, and its skin is so tough that when dried it is made into javelins.

72. Otters also are found in the Nile, and are considered sacred. Only two sorts of fish are venerated, that called the lepidotus and the eel. These are regarded as sacred to the Nile, as likewise among birds is the vulpanser, or fox-goose.

73. They have also another sacred bird called the phoenix, which I myself have never seen, except in pictures. Indeed it is a great rarity even in Egypt, only coming there (according to the accounts of the people of Heliopolis) once in five hundred years, when the old phoenix dies. Its size and appearance, if it is like the pictures, are as follows:—The plumage is partly red, partly golden, while the general make and size are almost exactly that of the eagle. They tell a story of what this bird does, which does not seem to me to be credible: that he comes all the way from Arabia, and brings the parent bird, all plastered over with myrrh, to the temple of the Sun, and there buries the body. In order to bring him, they say, he first forms a ball of myrrh as big as he finds that he can carry; then he hollows out the ball, and puts his parent inside, after which he covers over the opening with fresh myrrh, and the ball is then of exactly the same weight as at first; so he brings it to Egypt, plastered over as I have said, and deposits it in the temple of the Sun. Such is the story they tell of the doings of the bird.

74. In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are some sacred serpents which are perfectly harmless. They are of small size, and have two horns growing out of the top of the head. These snakes, when they die, are buried in the temple of Jupiter, the god to whom they are sacred.

75. I went once to a certain place in Arabia, almost exactly opposite the city of Buto, to make inquiries concerning the winged serpents. On my arrival I saw the back-bones and ribs of serpents in such numbers as it is impossible to describe: of the ribs there were a multitude of heaps, some great, some small, some middle-sized. The place where the bones lie is at the entrance of a narrow gorge between steep mountains, which there open upon a spacious plain communicating with the great plain of Egypt. The story goes, that with the spring the winged snakes come flying from Arabia towards Egypt, but are met in this gorge by the birds called ibises, who forbid their entrance and destroy them all. The Arabians assert, and the Egyptians also admit, that it is on account of the service thus rendered that the Egyptians hold the ibis in so much reverence.

76. The ibis is a bird of a deep-black colour, with legs like a crane; its beak is strongly hooked, and its size is about that of the landrail. This is a description of the black ibis which contends with the serpents. The commoner sort, for there are two quite distinct species, has the head and the whole throat bare of feathers; its general plumage is white, but the head and neck are jet black, as also are the tips of the wings and the extremity of the tail; in its beak and legs it resembles the other species. The winged serpent is shaped like the water-snake. Its wings are not feathered, but resemble very closely those of the bat. And thus I conclude the subject of the sacred animals.

77. With respect to the Egyptians themselves, it is to be remarked that those who live in the corn country, devoting themselves, as they do, far more than any other people in the world, to the preservation of the memory of past actions, are the best skilled in history of any men that I have ever met. The following is the mode of life habitual to them:—For three successive days in each month they purge the body by means of emetics and clysters, which is done out of a regard for their health, since they have a persuasion that every disease to which men are liable is occasioned by the substances whereon they feed. Apart from any such precautions, they are, I believe, next to the Libyans, the healthiest people in the world—an effect of their climate, in my opinion, which has no sudden changes. Diseases almost always attack men when they are exposed to a change, and never more than during changes of the weather. They live on bread made of spelt, which they form into loaves called in their own tongue *cyllstis*. Their drink is a wine which they obtain from barley, as they have no vines in their country. Many kinds of fish they eat raw, either salted or dried in the sun. Quails also, and ducks and small birds, they eat uncooked, merely first salting them. All other birds and fishes, excepting those which are set apart as sacred, are eaten either roasted or boiled.

78. In social meetings among the rich, when the banquet is ended, a servant carries round to the several guests a coffin, in which there is a wooden image of a corpse, carved and painted to resemble nature as nearly as possible, about a cubit or two cubits in length. As he shows it to each guest in turn, the servant says, "Gaze here, and drink and be merry; for when you die, such will you be."

79. The Egyptians adhere to their own national customs, and adopt no foreign usages. Many of these customs are worthy of note: among others their song, the *Linus*, which is sung under various

names not only in Egypt but in Phœnicia, in Cyprus, and in other places; and which seems to be exactly the same as that in use among the Greeks, and by them called Linus. There were very many things in Egypt which filled me with astonishment, and this was one of them. Whence could the Egyptians have got the Linus? It appears to have been sung by them from the very earliest times. For the Linus in Egyptian is called Maneros; and they told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, and that on his untimely death he was honoured by the Egyptians with these dirgelike strains, and in this way they got their first and only melody.

80. There is another custom in which the Egyptians resemble a particular Greek people, namely the Lacedæmonians. Their young men, when they meet their elders in the streets, give way to them and step aside; and if an elder come in where young men are present, these latter rise from their seats. In a third point they differ entirely from all the nations of Greece. Instead of speaking to each other when they meet in the streets, they make an obeisance, sinking the hand to the knee.

81. They wear a linen tunic fringed about the legs, and called calasiris; over this they have a white woollen garment thrown on afterwards. Nothing of woollen, however, is taken into their temples or buried with them, as their religion forbids it. Here their practice resembles the rites called Orphic and Bacchic, but which are in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean; for no one initiated in these mysteries can be buried in a woollen shroud, a religious reason being assigned for the observance.

82. The Egyptians likewise discovered to which of the gods each month and day is sacred; and found out from the day of a man's birth, what he will meet with in the course of his life, and how he will end his days, and what sort of man he will be—discoveries whereof the Greeks engaged in poetry have made a use. The Egyptians have also discovered more prognostics than all of the rest of mankind besides. Whenever a prodigy takes place, they watch and record the result; then, if any thing similar ever happens again, they expect the same consequences.

83. With respect to divination, they hold that it is a gift which no mortal possesses, but only certain of the gods; thus they have an oracle of Hercules, one of Apollo, of Minerva, of Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter. Besides these, there is the oracle of Latona at Buto, which is held in much higher repute than any of the rest. The mode of de-

livering the oracles is not uniform, but varies at the different shrines.

84. Medicine is practised among them on a plan of separation; each physician treats a single disorder, and no more: thus the country swarms with medical practitioners, some undertaking to cure diseases of the eye, others of the head, others again of the teeth, others of the intestines, and some those which are not local.

85. The following is the way in which they conduct their mournings and their funerals:—On the death in any house of a man of consequence, forthwith the women of the family beplaster their heads, and sometimes even their faces with mud; and then, leaving the body indoors, sally forth and wander through the city, with their dress fastened by a band, and their bosoms bare, beating themselves as they walk. All the female relations join them and do the same. The men too, similarly begirt, beat their breasts separately. When these ceremonies are over, the body is carried away to be embalmed.

86. There are a set of men in Egypt who practise the art of embalming, and make it their proper business. These persons, when a body is brought to them, show the bearers various models of corpses, made in wood, and painted so as to resemble nature. The most perfect is said to be after the manner of him whom I do not think it religious to name in connection with such a matter; the second sort is inferior to the first, and less costly; the third is the cheapest of all. All this the embalmers explain, and then ask in which way it is wished that the corpse should be prepared. The bearers tell them, and having concluded their bargain, take their departure, while the embalming, according to the most perfect process, is the following:—They take first a crooked piece of iron, and with it draw out the brain through the nostrils, thus getting rid of a portion, while the skull is cleared of the rest by rinsing with drugs; next they make a cut along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone, and take out the whole contents of the abdomen, which they then cleanse, washing it thoroughly with palm-wine, and again frequently with an infusion of pounded aromatics. After this they fill the cavity with the purest bruised myrrh, with cassia, and every other sort of spicery except frankincense, and sew up the opening. Then the body is placed in natrum for seventy days, and covered entirely over. After the expiration of that space of time, which must not be exceeded, the body is washed, and wrapped round, from head to foot, with bandages of fine linen cloth, smeared over with gum, which is used generally by the Egyptians in the place of glue, and in this state it is given back to the relations, who enclose it in a

wooden case which they have had made for the purpose, shaped into the figure of a man. Then fastening the case, they place it in a sepulchral chamber, upright against the wall. Such is the most costly way of embalming the dead.

87. If persons wish to avoid expense, and choose the second process, the following is the method pursued:—Syringes are filled with oil made from the cedar-tree, which is then, without any incision or disembowelling, injected into the abdomen. The passage by which it might be likely to return is stopped, and the body laid in natrum the prescribed number of days. At the end of the time the cedar-oil is allowed to make its escape; and such is its power that it brings with it the whole stomach and intestines in a liquid state. The natrum meanwhile has dissolved the flesh, and so nothing is left of the dead body but the skin and the bones. It is returned in this condition to the relatives, without any further trouble being bestowed upon it.

88. The third method of embalming, which is practised in the case of the poorer classes, is to clear out the intestines with a clyster, and let the body lie in natrum the seventy days, after which it is at once given to those who come to fetch it away.

89. The wives of men of rank are not given to be embalmed immediately after death, nor indeed are any of the more beautiful and valued women. It is not till they have been dead three or four days that they are carried to the embalmers. This is done to prevent indignities from being offered them. It is said that once a case of this kind occurred: the man was detected by the information of his fellow-workman.

90. Whensoever any one, Egyptian or foreigner, has lost his life by falling a prey to a crocodile, or by drowning in the river, the law compels the inhabitants of the city near which the body is cast up to have it embalmed, and to bury it in one of the sacred repositories with all possible magnificence. No one may touch the corpse, not even any of the friends or relatives, but only the priests of the Nile, who prepare it for burial with their own hands—regarding it as something more than the mere body of a man—and themselves lay it in the tomb.

91. The Egyptians are averse to adopt Greek customs, or, in a word, those of any other nation. This feeling is almost universal among them. At Chemmis, however, which is a large city in the Thebaic canton, near Neapolis, there is a square enclosure sacred to Perseus, son of Danae. Palm trees grow all round the place, which

has a gateway of stone of an unusual size, surmounted by two colossal statues, also in stone. Inside this precinct is a temple, and in the temple an image of Perseus. The people of Chemmis say that Perseus often appears to them, sometimes within the sacred enclosure, sometimes in the open country: one of the sandals which he has worn is frequently found—two cubits in length, as they affirm—and then all Egypt flourishes greatly. In the worship of Perseus Greek ceremonies are used; gymnastic games are celebrated in his honour, comprising every kind of contest, with prizes of cattle, cloaks, and skins. I made inquiries of the Chemmites why it was that Perseus appeared to them and not elsewhere in Egypt, and how they came to celebrate gymnastic contests unlike the rest of the Egyptians: to which they answered, “that Perseus belonged to their city by descent. Danaus and Lynceus were Chemmites before they set sail for Greece, and from them Perseus was descended,” they said, tracing the genealogy; “and he, when he came to Egypt for the purpose” (which the Greeks also assign) “of bringing away from Libya the Gorgon’s head, paid them a visit, and acknowledged them for his kinsmen—he had heard the name of their city from his mother before he left Greece—he bade them institute a gymnastic contest in his honour. and that was the reason why they observed the practice.”

92. The customs hitherto described are those of the Egyptians who live above the marsh-country. The inhabitants of the marshes have the same customs as the rest, as well in those matters which have been mentioned above as in respect of marriage, each Egyptian taking to himself, like the Greeks, a single wife; but for greater cheapness of living the marsh-men practise certain peculiar customs, such as these following. They gather the blossoms of a certain water-lily, which grows in great abundance all over the flat country at the time when the Nile rises and floods the regions along its banks—the Egyptians call it the lotus—they gather, I say, the blossoms of this plant and dry them in the sun, after which they extract from the centre of each blossom a substance like the head of a poppy, which they crush and make into bread. The root of the lotus is likewise eatable, and has a pleasant sweet taste: it is round, and about the size of an apple. There is also another species of the lily in Egypt, which grows, like the lotus, in the river, and resembles the rose. The fruit springs up side by side with the blossom, on a separate stalk, and has almost exactly the look of the comb made by wasps. It contains a number of seeds, about the size of an olive-stone, which are good to eat: and

these are eaten both green and dried. The byblus (papyrus), which grows year after year in the marshes, they pull up, and, cutting the plant in two, reserve the upper portion for other purposes, but take the lower, which is about a cubit long, and either eat it or else sell it. Such as wish to enjoy the byblus in full perfection bake it first in a closed vessel, heated to a glow. Some of these folk, however, live entirely on fish, which are gutted as soon as caught, and then hung up in the sun: when dry, they are used as food.

93. Gregarious fish are not found in any numbers in the rivers; they frequent the lagunes, whence, at the season of breeding, they proceed in shoals towards the sea. The males lead the way, and drop their milt as they go, while the females, following close behind, eagerly swallow it down. From this they conceive, and when, after passing some time in the sea, they begin to be in spawn, the whole shoal sets off on its return to its ancient haunts. Now, however, it is no longer the males, but the females, who take the lead: they swim in front in a body, and do exactly as the males did before, dropping, little by little, their grains of spawn as they go, while the male in the rear devour the grains, each one of which is a fish. A portion of the spawn escapes and is not swallowed by the males, and hence come the fishes which grow afterwards to maturity. When any of this sort of fish are taken on their passage to the sea, they are found to have the left side of the head scarred and bruised; while if taken on their return, the marks appear on the right. The reason is, that as they swim down the Nile seaward, they keep close to the bank of the river upon their left, and returning again up stream they still cling to the same side hugging it and brushing in against it constantly, to be sure that they miss not their road through the great force of the current. When the Nile begins to rise, the hollows in the land and the marshy spots near the river are flooded before any other places by the percolation of the water through the river banks; and these, almost as soon as they become pools, are found to be full of numbers of little fishes. I think that I understand how it is this comes to pass. On the subsidence of the Nile the year before, though the fish retired with the retreating waters, they had first deposited their spawn in the mud upon the banks; and so, when at the usual season the waters returns, small fry are rapidly engendered out of the spawn of the preceding year. So much concerning the fish.

94. The Egyptians who live in the marshes use for the anointing of their bodies an oil made from the fruit of the sillicyprium, which is

known among them by the name of "kiki." To obtain this they plant the sillicyprium (which grows wild in Greece) along the banks of the rivers and by the sides of the lakes, where it produces fruit in great abundance, but with a very disagreeable smell. This fruit is gathered, and then bruised and pressed, or else boiled down after roasting: the liquid which comes from it is collected and is found to be unctuous, and as well suited as olive-oil for lamps, only that it gives out an unpleasant odour.

95. The contrivances which they use against gnats, wherewith the country swarms, are the following. In the parts of Egypt above the marshes the inhabitants pass the night upon lofty towers, which are of great service, as the gnats are unable to fly to any height on account of the winds. In the marsh-country, where there are no towers, each man possesses a net instead. By day it serves him to catch fish, while at night he spreads it over the bed in which he is to rest, and creeping in, goes to sleep underneath. The gnats, which, if he rolls himself up in his dress or in a piece of muslin, are sure to bite through the covering, do not so much as attempt to pass the net.

96. The vessels used in Egypt for the transport of merchandise are made of the *Acantha* (Thorn), a tree which in its growth is very like the Cyrenaic lotus, and from which there exudes a gum. They cut a quantity of planks about two cubits in length from this tree, and then proceed to their ship-building, arranging the planks like bricks, and attaching them by ties to a number of long stakes or poles till the hull is complete, when they lay the cross-planks on the top from side to side. They give the boats no ribs, but caulk the seams with papyrus on the inside. Each has a single rudder, which is driven straight through the keel. The mast is a piece of *acantha*-wood, and the sails are made of papyrus. These boats cannot make way against the current unless there is a brisk breeze; they are, therefore, towed up-stream from the shore: down-stream they are managed as follows. There is a raft belonging to each, made of the wood of the tamarisk, fastened together with a wattling of reeds; and also a stone bored through the middle about two talents in weight. The raft is fastened to the vessel by a rope, and allowed to float down the stream in front, while the stone is attached by another rope astern. The result is, that the raft, hurried forward by the current, goes rapidly down the river, and drags the "baris" (for so they call this sort of boat) after it; while the stone, which is pulled along in the wake of the vessel, and lies deep in the water, keeps the boat straight. There are a vast

number of these vessels in Egypt, and some of them are of many thousand talents' burthen.

97. When the Nile overflows, the country is converted into a sea, and nothing appears but the cities, which look like the islands in the Ægean. At this season boats no longer keep the course of the river, but sail right across the plain. On the voyage from Naucratis to Memphis at this season, you pass close to the pyramids, whereas the usual course is by the apex of the Delta, and the city of Cercasorus. You can sail also from the maritime town of Canopus across the flat to Naucratis, passing by the cities of Anthylla and Archandropolis.

98. The former of these cities, which is a place of note, is assigned expressly to the wife of the ruler of Egypt for the time being, to keep her in shoes. Such has been the custom ever since Egypt fell under the Persian yoke. The other city seems to me to have got its name of Archandropolis from Archander the Phthian, son of Achæus, and son-in-law of Danaus. There might certainly have been another Archander; but, any rate, the name is not Egyptian.

99. Thus far I have spoken of Egypt from my own observation, relating what I myself saw, the ideas that I formed, and the results of my own researches.

THE JEWS

REFERENCES

SINCE it seems unnecessary to reprint the Bible, a brief list of those passages in which its leading ideas are found is here presented.

The Creation:—Genesis, I. and II.

The History of the Jews:—

The Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, the books of Samuel, of Kings, of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

Legislation:—Exodus, XII.—XIII.; XIX.—XXXI.; XXXIV.—XXXV.

Leviticus entire.

Numbers, IV.—VI.; VIII.—X.; XV.; XVIII.—XIX.; XXVII.—XXXI.; XXXV.

Deuteronomy, V.—VI.; XII.—XXXIV.

Religion and Morals:—

The Psalms and the Prophets.

Philosophical Ideas, theory of the origin of sin and the place which it holds in God's plan:—

Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and in the Old Testament Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus, or the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach.

BRAHMAN IDEAS

PROBABLY THE EARLIEST EXPRESSION of highly developed thought by any Aryan race was that formulated by the Hindoos in their personification and worship of the powers of nature. This has been handed down to us in the Vedas, hymns to the deified natural forces and phenomena that these prehistoric immigrants found about them, lyrics to the Dawn, the Sky, the Storm-gods, the lightning, or the Moon-plant used in sacrifice.

The examples that we have given from the Vedas illustrate this ancient nature worship.

The philosophic system of the Brahmins was built upon the Vedas, but mounted high above them. It gradually reduced the many gods to one, identified the world with that one, and that one and the whole world with the self of the individual, thus arriving at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man. It believed, too, that the future of the soul depended upon this knowledge. We have given the exposition of their later religious and their philosophical ideas in three of their most important Upanishads.

Their ideas of the beginning of the world, of the transmigration of souls, and of the laws of the castes, have been included as expressed in the **Laws of Manu**.

VEDIC HYMNS

TO THE UNKNOWN GOD

1. IN THE BEGINNING there arose the Golden Child (Hiranya-garbha) ; as soon as born, he alone was the lord of all that is. He established the earth and this heaven :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

2. He who gives breath, he who gives strength, whose command all the bright gods revere, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

3. He who through his might became the sole king of the breathing and twinkling world, who governs all this, man and beast :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

4. He through whose might these snowy mountains are, and the sea, they say, with the distant river (the Rasa), he of whom these regions are indeed the two arms :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

5. He through whom the awful heaven and the earth were made fast, he through whom the ether was established, and the firmament ; he who measured the air in the sky :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

6. He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by his will, look up, trembling in their mind ; he over whom the risen sun shines forth :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

7. When the great waters went everywhere, holding the germ (Hiranya-garbha), and generating light, then there arose from them the (sole) breath of the gods :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

8. He who by his might looked even over the waters which held power (the germ) and generated the sacrifice (light), he who alone is God above all gods :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

9. May he not hurt us, he who is the begetter of the earth, or he, the righteous, who begat the heaven ; he who also begat the bright

and mighty waters :—Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?

[10. Pragapati, no other than thou embraces all these created things. May that be ours which we desire when sacrificing to thee: may we be lords of wealth!]

TO VATA (THE WIND)

1. Now for the greatness of the chariot of Vata! Its roar goes crashing and thundering. It moves touching the sky, and creating red sheens, or it goes scattering the dust of the earth.

2. Afterwards there rise the gusts of Vata, they go towards him, like women to a feast. The god goes with them on the same chariot, he, the king of the whole of this world.

3. When he moves on his paths along the sky, he rests not even a single day; the friend of the waters, the first-born, the holy, where was he born, whence did he spring?

4. The breath of the gods, the germ of the world, that god moves wherever he listeth; his roars indeed are heard, not his form—let us offer sacrifice to that Vata!

TO AGNI (THE GOD OF FIRE) AND THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS)

1. Thou art called forth to this fair sacrifice for a draught of milk; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

2. No god indeed, no mortal, is beyond the might of thee, the mighty one; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

3. They who know of the great sky, the Visve Devas without guile; with those Maruts come hither, O Agni!

4. The strong ones who sing their song, unconquerable by force; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

5. They who are brilliant, of terrible designs, powerful, and devourers of foes; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

6. They who in heaven are enthroned as gods, in the light of the firmament; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

7. They who toss the clouds across the surging sea; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

8. They who shoot with their darts (lightnings) across the sea

with might; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

9. I pour out to thee for the early draught the sweet (juice) of Soma; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS)

1. Sing forth, O Kanvas, to the sportive host of your Maruts, brilliant on their chariots, and unscathed,—

2. They who were born together, self-luminous, with the spotted deer (the clouds), the spears, the daggers, the glittering ornaments.

3. I hear their whips, almost close by, when they crack them in their hands; they gain splendour on their way.

4. Sing forth the god-given prayer to the wild host of your Maruts, endowed with terrible vigour and strength.

5. Celebrate the bull among the cows (the storm among the clouds), for it is the sportive host of the Maruts; he grew as he tasted the rain.

6. Who, O ye men, is the strongest among you here, ye shakers of heaven and earth, when you shake them like the hem of a garment?

7. At your approach the son of man holds himself down; the gnarled cloud fled at your fierce anger.

8. They at whose racings the earth, like a hoary king, trembles for fear on their ways.

9. Their birth is strong indeed: there is strength to come forth from their mother, nay, there is vigour twice enough for it.

10. And these sons, the singers, stretched out the fences in their racings; the cows had to walk knee-deep.

11. They cause this long and broad unceasing rain to fall on their ways.

12. O Maruts, with such strength as yours, you have caused men to tremble, you have caused the mountains to tremble.

13. As the Maruts pass along, they talk together on the way: does any one hear them?

14. Come fast on your quick steeds! there are worshippers for you among the Kanvas: may you well rejoice among them.

15. Truly there is enough for your rejoicing. We always are their servants, that we may live even the whole of life.

TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS)

1. What then now? When will you take (us) as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye gods, for whom the sacred grass has been trimmed?

2. Where now? On what errand of yours are you going, in heaven, not on earth? Where are your cows sporting?

3. Where are your newest favours, O Maruts? Where the blessings? Where all delights?

4. If you, sons of Prisni, were mortals, and your praiser an immortal,—

5. Then never should your praiser be unwelcome, like a deer in pasture grass, nor should he go on the path of Yama.

6. Let not one sin after another, difficult to be conquered, overcome us; may it depart together with greed.

7. Truly they are terrible and powerful; even to the desert the Rudriyas bring rain that is never dried up.

8. The lightning lows like a cow, it follows as a mother follows after her young, when the shower (of the Maruts) has been let loose.

9. Even by day the Maruts create darkness with the water-bearing cloud, when they drench the earth.

10. Then from the shouting of the Maruts over the whole space of the earth, men reeled forward.

11. Maruts on your strong-hoofed never-wearying steeds go after those bright ones (the clouds), which are still locked up.

12. May your fellies be strong, the chariots, and their horses, may your reins be well-fashioned.

13. Speak forth for ever with thy voice to praise the Lord of prayer, Agni, who is like a friend, the bright one.

14. Fashion a hymn in thy mouth! Expand like the cloud! Sing a song of praise.

15. Worship the host of the Maruts, the terrible, the glorious, the musical. May they be magnified here among us.

TO RUDRA (GOD OF LIGHTNING)

1. We offer these prayers to Rudra, the strong, whose hair is braided, who rules over heroes, that he may be a blessing to man and beast, that everything in this our village may be prosperous and free from disease.

2. Be gracious to us, O Rudra, and give us joy, and we shall honour thee, the ruler of heroes, with worship. What health and wealth father Manu acquired by his sacrifices, may we obtain the same, O Rudra, under thy guidance.

3. O bounteous Rudra, may we by sacrifice obtain the goodwill of thee, the ruler of heroes; come to our clans, well-disposed, and, with unharmed men, we shall offer our libation to thee.

4. We call down for our help the fierce Rudra, who fulfils our sacrifice, the swift, the wise; may he drive far away from us the anger of the gods; we desire his goodwill only.

5. We call down with worship the red boar of the sky, the god with braided hair, the blazing form; may he who carries in his hand the best medicines grant us protection, shield, and shelter!

6. This speech is spoken for the father of the Maruts, sweeter than sweet, a joy to Rudra; grant to us also, O immortal, the food of mortals, be gracious to us and to our kith and kin!

7. Do not slay our great or our small ones, our growing or our grown ones, our father or our mother, and do not hurt our own bodies, O Rudra!

8. O Rudra, hurt us not in our kith and kin, nor in our own life, not in our cows, nor in our horses! Do not slay our men in thy wrath: carrying libations, we call on thee always.

9. Like a shepherd, I have driven these praises near to thee; O farther of the Maruts, grant us thy favour! For thy goodwill is auspicious, and most gracious, hence we desire thy protection alone.

10. Let thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying be far away, and let thy favour be with us, O ruler of heroes! Be gracious to us, and bless us, O god, and then give us twofold protection.

11. We have uttered our supplication to him, desiring his help; may Rudra with the Maruts hear our call. May Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, the River, Earth, and the Sky grant us this!

TO VAYU (THE WIND)

1. Come hither, O Vayu, thou beautiful one! These Somas are ready, drink of them, hear our call!
2. O Vayu, the praisers celebrate thee with hymns, they who know the feast-days, and have prepared the Soma.
3. O Vayu, thy satisfying stream goes to the worshipper, wide-reaching, to the Soma-draught.
4. O Indra and Vayu, these (libations of Soma) are poured out; come hither for the sake of our offerings, for the drops (of Soma) long for you.
5. O Indra and Vayu, you perceive the libations, you who are rich in booty; come then quickly hither!
6. O Vayu and Indra, come near to the work of the sacrificer, quick, thus is my prayer, O ye men!
7. I call Mitra, endowed with holy strength, and Varuna, who destroys all enemies; who both fulfil a prayer accompanied by fat offerings.
8. On the right way, O Mitra and Varuna, you have obtained great wisdom, you who increase the right and adhere to the right;
9. These two sages, Mitra and Varuna, the mighty, wide-ruling, give us efficient strength.

TO AGNI AND THE MARUTS

1. I implore Agni, the gracious, with salutations, may he sit down here, and gather what we have made. I offer (him sacrifice) as with racing chariots; may I, turning to the right, accomplish this hymn to the Maruts.
2. Those who approached on their glorious deer, on their easy chariots, the Rudras, the Maruts,—through fear of you, ye terrible ones, the forests even bend down, the earth shakes, and also the mountain (cloud).
3. At your shouting, even the mountain (cloud), grown large, fears, and the ridge of heaven trembles. When you play together, O Maruts, armed with spears, you run together like waters.
4. Like rich suitors the Maruts have themselves adorned their

bodies with golden ornaments; more glorious for glory, and powerful on their chariots, they have brought together splendours on their bodies.

5. As brothers, no one being the eldest or the youngest, they have grown up together to happiness. Young is their clever father Rudra, flowing with plenty is Prisni (their mother), always kind to the Maruts.

6. O happy Maruts, whether you are in the highest, or in the middle, or in the lowest heaven, from thence, O Rudras, or thou also, O Agni, take notice of this libation which we offer.

7. When Agni, and you, wealthy Maruts, drive down from the higher heaven over the ridges, give then, if pleased, you roarers, O destroyers of enemies, wealth to the sacrificer who prepares (Soma-juice).

8. Agni, be pleased to drink Soma with the brilliant Maruts, the singers, approaching in companies, with the men (Ayus), who brighten and enliven everything; do this, O Vaisvanara (Agni), thou who art always endowed with splendour.

TO RUDRA

1. Offer ye these songs to Rudra whose bow is strong, whose arrows are swift, the self-dependent god, the unconquered conqueror, the intelligent, whose weapons are sharp—may he hear us!

2. For, being the lord, he looks after what is born on earth; being the universal ruler, he looks after what is born in heaven. Protecting us, come to our protecting doors, be without illness among our people, O Rudra!

3. May that thunderbolt of thine, which, sent from heaven, traverses the earth, pass us by! A thousand medicines are thine, O thou who are freely accessible; do not hurt us in our kith and kin!

4. Do not strike us, O Rudra, do not forsake us! May we not be in thy way when thou rushest forth furiously. Let us have our altar and a good report among men—protect us always with your favours!

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MUELLER.

KATHA UPANISHAD

FIRST ADHYAYA

FIRST VALLI

1. VAGASRAVASA, desirous (of heavenly rewards), surrendered (at a sacrifice) all that he possessed. He had a son of the name of Nakiketas.

2. When the (promised) presents were being given (to the priests), faith entered into the heart of Nakiketas, who was still a boy, and he thought:

3. 'Unblessed, surely, are the worlds to which a man goes by giving (as his promised present at a sacrifice) cows which have drunk water, eaten hay, given their milk, and are barren.'

4. He (knowing that his father had promised to give up all that he possessed, and therefore his son also) said to his father: 'Dear father, to whom wilt thou give me?'

He said it a second and a third time. Then the father replied (angrily):

'I shall give thee unto Death.'

(The father, having once said so, though in haste, had to be true to his word and to sacrifice his son.)

5. The son said: 'I go as the first, at the head of many (who have still to die); I go in the midst of many (who are now dying). What will be the work of Yama (the ruler of the departed) which to-day he has to do unto me?'

6. 'Look back how it was with those who came before, look forward how it will be with those who come hereafter. A mortal ripens like corn, like corn he springs up again.'

(Nakiketas enters into the abode of Yama Vaivasvata, and there is no one to receive him. Thereupon one of the attendants of Yama is supposed to say:)

7. 'Fire enters into the houses, when a Brahmana enters as a guest. That fire is quenched by this peace-offering;—bring water, O Vaivasvata!

8. 'A Brahmana that dwells in the house of a foolish man without receiving food to eat, destroys his hopes and expectations, his possessions, his righteousness, his sacred and his good deeds, and all his sons and cattle.'

(Yama, returning to his house after an absence of three nights, during which time Nakiketas had received no hospitality from him, says:)

9. 'O Brahmana, as thou, a venerable guest, hast dwelt in my house three nights without eating, therefore choose now three boons. Hail to thee! and welfare to me!'

10. Nakiketas said: 'O Death, as the first of the three boons I choose that Gautama, my father, be pacified, kind, and free from anger towards me; and that he may know me and greet me, when I shall have been dismissed by thee.'

11. Yama said: 'Through my favour Auddalaki Aruni, thy father, will know thee, and be again towards thee as he was before. He shall sleep peacefully through the night, and free from anger, after having seen thee freed from the mouth of death.'

12. Nakiketas said: 'In the heaven-world there is no fear; thou are not there, O Death, and no one is afraid on account of old age, Leaving behind both hunger and thirst, and out of the reach of sorrow, all rejoice in the world of heaven.'

13. 'Thou knowest, O Death, the fire-sacrifice which leads us to heaven; tell it to me, for I am full of faith. Those who live in the heaven-world reach immortality,—this I ask as my second boon.'

14. Yama said: 'I tell it thee, learn it from me, and when thou understandest that fire-sacrifice which leads to heaven, know, O Nakiketas, that it is the attainment of the endless worlds, and their firm support, hidden in darkness.'

15. Yama then told him that fire-sacrifice, the beginning of all the worlds, and what bricks are required for the altar, and how many, and how they are to be placed. And Nakiketas repeated all as it had been told to him. Then Mrityu, being pleased with him, said again:

16. The generous, being satisfied, said to him: 'I give thee now another boon; that fire-sacrifice shall be named after thee, take also this many-coloured chain.'

17. 'He who has three times performed this Nakiketa rite, and has been united with the three (father, mother, and teacher), and has performed the three duties (study, sacrifice, almsgiving) overcomes birth and death. When he has learnt and understood this fire, which

knows (or makes us know) all that is born of Brahman, which is venerable and divine, then he obtains everlasting peace.'

18. 'He who knows the three Nakiketa fires, and knowing the three, piles up the Nikiketa sacrifice, he, having first thrown off the chains of death, rejoices in the world of heaven, beyond the reach of grief.'

19. 'This, O Nakiketas, is thy fire which leads to heaven, and which thou hast chosen as thy second boon. That fire all men will proclaim. Choose now, O Nakiketas, thy third boon.'

20. Nakiketas said: 'There is that doubt, when a man is dead,—some saying, he is; others, he is not. This I should like to know, taught by thee; this is the third of my boons.'

21. Death said: 'On this point even the gods have doubted formerly; it is not easy to understand. That subject is subtle. Choose another boon, O Nakiketas, do not press me, and let me off that boon.'

22. Nakiketas said: 'On this point even the gods have doubted indeed, and thou, Death, hast declared it to be not easy to understand, and another teacher like thee is not to be found:—surely no other boon is like unto this.'

23. Death said: 'Choose sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, and horses. Choose the wide abode of the earth, and live thyself as many harvests as thou desirest.'

24. 'If you can think of any boon equal to that, choose wealth, and long life. Be (king), Nakiketas, on the wide earth. I make thee the enjoyer of all desires.'

25. 'Whatever desires are difficult to attain among mortals, ask for them according to thy wish;—these fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments,—such are indeed not to be obtained by men,—be waited on by them whom I give to thee, but do not ask me about dying.'

26. Nakiketas said: 'These things last till to-morrow, O Death, for they wear out this vigour of all the senses. Even the whole of life is short. Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself.'

27. 'No man can be made happy by wealth. Shall we possess wealth, when we see thee? Shall we live, as long as thou rulest? Only that boon (which I have chosen) is to be chosen by me.'

28. 'What mortal, slowly decaying here below, and knowing, after having approached them, the freedom from decay enjoyed by

the immortals, would delight in a long life, after he has pondered on the pleasures which arise from beauty and love'

29. 'No, that on which there is this doubt, O Death, tell us what there is in that great Hereafter. Nakiketas does not choose another boon but that which enters into the hidden world.'

SECOND VALLI

1. Death said: 'The good is one thing, the pleasant another; these two, having different objects, chain a man. It is well with him who clings to the good; he who chooses the pleasant, misses his end.'

2. 'The good and the pleasant approach man. The wise goes round about them and distinguishes them. Yea, the wise prefer the good to the pleasant, but the fool chooses the pleasant through greed and avarice.'

3. 'Thou, O Nakiketas, after pondering all pleasures that are or seem delightful, hast dismissed them all. Thou hast not gone into the road that leadeth to wealth, in which many men perish.'

4. 'Wide apart and leading to different points are these two, ignorance and what is known as wisdom. I believe Nakiketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear thee away.'

5. 'Fools dwelling in darkness, wise in their own conceit, and puffed up with vain knowledge, go round and round, staggering to and fro, like blind men led by the blind.'

6. 'The Hereafter never rises before the eyes of the careless child, deluded by the delusion of wealth. "This is the world," he thinks, "there is no other;"—thus he falls again and again under my sway.'

7. 'He (the Self) of whom many are not even able to hear, whom many, even when they hear of him, do not comprehend; wonderful is a man, when found, who is able to teach him (the Self); wonderful is he who comprehends him, when taught by an able teacher.'

8. 'That (Self), when taught by an inferior man, is not easy to be known, even though often thought upon; unless it be taught by another, there is no way to it, for it is inconceivably smaller than what is small.'

9. 'That doctrine is not to be obtained by argument, but when it is declared by another, then, O dearest, it is easy to understand. Thou hast obtained it now; thou art truly a man of true resolve. May we have always an inquirer like thee!'

10. Nakiketas said: 'I know that what is called a treasure is transient, for that eternal is not obtained by things which are not eternal. Hence the Nakiketa fire(-sacrifice) has been laid by me (first); then, by means of transient things, I have obtained what is not transient (the teaching of Yama).'

11. Yama said: 'Though thou hadst seen the fulfilment of all desires, the foundation of the world, the endless rewards of good deeds, the shore where there is no fear, that which is magnified by praise, the wide abode, the rest, yet being wise thou hast with firm resolve dismissed it all.

12. 'The wise who, by means of meditation on his Self, recognises the Ancient, who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who is hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God, he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind.'

13. 'A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities, and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices, because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing. The house (of Brahman) is open, I believe, O Nakiketas.'

14. Nakiketas said: 'That which thou seest as neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, tell me that.'

15. Yama said: 'That word (or place) which all the Vedas record, which all penances proclaim, which men desire when they live as religious students, that word I tell thee briefly, it is Om.'

16. 'That (imperishable) syllable means Brahman, that syllable means the highest (Brahman); he who knows that syllable, whatever he desires, is his.'

17. 'This is the best support, this is the highest support; he who knows that support is magnified in the world of Brahma.'

18. 'The knowing (Self) is not born, it dies not; it sprang from nothing, nothing sprang from it. The Ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting; he is not killed, though the body is killed.'

19. 'If the killer thinks that he kills, if the killed thinks that he is killed, they do not understand; for this one does not kill, nor is that one killed.'

20. 'The Self, smaller than small, greater than great, is hidden in the heart of that creature. A man who is free from desires and free from grief, sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator.'

21. 'Though sitting still, he walks far; though lying down, he

goes everywhere. Who, save yourself, is able to know that God who rejoices and rejoices not?

22. 'The wise who knows the Self as bodiless within the bodies, as unchanging among changing things, as great and omnipresent, does never grieve.'

23. 'That Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own.'

24. 'But he who has not first turned away from his wickedness, who is not tranquil, and subdued, or whose mind is not at rest, he can never obtain the Self (even) by knowledge.'

25. 'Who then knows where He is, He to whom the Brahmins and Kshatriyas are (as it were) but food, and death itself a condiment?'

THIRD VALLI

1. 'There are the two, drinking their reward in the world of their own works, entered into the cave (of the heart), dwelling on the highest summit (the ether in the heart). Those who know Brahman call them shade and light; likewise, those householders who perform the Trinakiketa sacrifice.'

2. 'May we be able to master that Nakiketa rite which is a bridge for sacrificers; also that which is the highest, imperishable Brahman for those who wish to cross over to the fearless shore.'

3. 'Know the Self to be sitting in the chariot, the body to be the chariot, the intellect (buddhi) the charioteer, and the mind the reins.'

4. 'The senses they call the horses, the objects of the senses their roads. When he (the Highest Self) is in union with the body, the senses, and the mind, then wise people call him the Enjoyer.'

5. 'He who has no understanding and whose mind (the reins) is never firmly held, his senses (horses) are unmanageable, like vicious horses of a charioteer.'

6. 'But he who has understanding and whose mind is always firmly held, his senses are under control, like good horses of a charioteer.'

7. 'He who has no understanding, who is unmindful and always impure, never reaches that place, but enters into the round of births.'

8. 'But he who has understanding, who is mindful and always pure, reaches indeed that place, from whence he is not born again.'

9. 'But he who has understanding for his charioteer, and who holds the reins of the mind, he reaches the end of his journey, and that

is the highest place of Vishnu.'

10. 'Beyond the senses there are the objects, beyond the objects there is the mind, beyond the mind there is the intellect, the Great Self is beyond the intellect.'

11. 'Beyond the Great there is the Undeveloped, beyond the Undeveloped there is the Person (purusha). Beyond the Person there is nothing—this is the goal, the highest road.'

12. 'That Self is hidden in all beings and does not shine forth, but it is seen by subtle seers through their sharp and subtle intellect.'

13. 'A wise man should keep down speech and mind; he should keep them within the Self which is knowledge; he should keep knowledge within the Self which is the Great; and he should keep that (the Great) within the Self which is the Quiet.'

14. 'Rise, awake! having obtained your boons, understand them! The sharp end of a razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say the path (to the Self) is hard.'

15. 'He who has perceived that which is without sound, without touch, without form, without decay, without taste, eternal, without smell, without beginning, without end, beyond the Great, and unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death.'

16. 'A wise man who has repeated or heard the ancient story of Nakiketas told by Death, is magnified in the world of Brahman.'

17. 'And he who repeats this greatest mystery in an assembly of Brahmans, or full of devotion at the time of the Sraddha sacrifice, obtains thereby infinite rewards.'

SECOND ADHYAYA

FOURTH VALLI

1. Death said: 'The Self-existent pierced the openings (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind.'

2. 'Children follow after outward pleasures, and fall into the snare of wide-spread death. Wise men only, knowing the nature of what is immortal, do not look for anything stable here among things unstable.'

3. 'That by which we know form, taste, smell, sounds, and loving touches, by that also we know what exists besides. This is that (which

thou hast asked for).'

4. 'The wise, when he knows that that by which he perceives all objects in sleep or in waking is the great omnipresent Self, grieves no more.'

5. 'He who knows this living soul which eats honey (perceives objects) as being the Self, always near, the Lord of the past and the future, henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

6. 'He who (knows) him who was born first from the brooding heat (for he was born before the water), who, entering into the heart, abides therein, and was perceived from the elements. This is that.'

7. '(He who knows) Aditi also, who is one with all deities, who arises with Prana (breath or Hiranyagarbha), who entering into the heart, abides therein, and was born from the elements. This is that.'

8. 'There is Agni (fire), the all-seeing, hidden in the two fire-sticks, well-guarded like a child (in the womb) by the mother, day after day to be adored by men when they awake and bring oblations. This is that.'

9. 'And that whence the sun rises, and whither it goes to set, there all the Devas are contained, and no one goes beyond. This is that.'

10. 'What is here (visible in the world), the same is there (invisible in Brahman); and what is there, the same is here. He who sees any difference here (between Brahman and the world), goes from death to death.'

11. 'Even by the mind this (Brahman) is to be obtained, and then there is no difference whatsoever. He goes from death to death who sees any difference here.'

12. 'The person (purusha), of the size of a thumb, stands in the middle of the Self (body?), as lord of the past and the future, and henceforward fears no more. This is that.'

13. 'That person, of the size of a thumb, is like a light without smoke, lord of the past and the future, he is the same to-day and to-morrow. This is that.'

14. 'As rain-water that has fallen on a mountain-ridge runs down the rocks on all sides, thus does he, who sees a difference between qualities, run after them on all sides.'

15. 'As pure water poured into pure water remains the same, thus, O Gautama, is the Self of a thinker who knows.'

FIFTH VALLI

1. 'There is a town with eleven gates belonging to the Unborn (Brahman), whose thoughts are never crooked. He who approaches it, grieves no more, and liberated (from all bonds of ignorance) becomes free. This is that.'

2. 'He (Brahman) is the swan (sun), dwelling in the bright heaven; he is the Vasu (air), dwelling in the sky; he is the sacrificer (fire), dwelling on the hearth; he is the guest (Soma), dwelling in the sacrificial jar; he dwells in men, in gods (vara), in the sacrifice (rita), in heaven; he is born in the water, on earth, in the sacrifice (rita), on the mountains; he is the True and the Great.'

3. 'He (Brahman) it is who sends up the breath (prana), and who throws back the breath (apana). All the Devas (senses) worship him, the adorable (or the dwarf), who sits in the centre.'

4. 'When that incorporated (Brahman), who dwells in the body, is torn away and freed from the body, what remains then? This is that.'

5. 'No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and by the breath that goes down. We live by another, in whom these two repose.'

6. 'Well then, O Gautama, I shall tell thee this mystery, the old Brahman, and what happens to the Self, after reaching death.'

7. 'Some enter the womb in order to have a body, as organic beings, others go into inorganic matter, according to their work and according to their knowledge.'

8. 'He, the highest Person, who is awake in us while we are asleep, shaping one lovely sight after another, that indeed is the Bright, that is Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that.'

9. 'As the one fire, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it burns, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without.'

10. 'As the one air, after it has entered the world, though one, becomes different according to whatever it enters, thus the one Self within all things becomes different, according to whatever it enters, and exists also without.'

11. 'As the sun, the eye of the whole world, is not contaminated by the external impurities seen by the eyes, thus the one Self within all things is never contaminated by the misery of the world, being him-

self without.'

12. 'There is one ruler, the Self within all things, who makes the one form manifold. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal happiness, not to others.'

13. 'There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-eternal thoughts who, though one, fulfils the desires of many. The wise who perceive him within their Self, to them belongs eternal peace, not to others.'

14. 'They perceive that highest indescribable pleasure, saying, This is that. How then can I understand it? Has it its own light, or does it reflect light?'

15. 'The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lighted.'

SIXTH VALLI

1. 'There is that ancient tree, whose roots grow upward and whose branches grow downward;—that indeed is called the Bright, that is called Brahman, that alone is called the Immortal. All worlds are contained in it, and no one goes beyond. This is that.'

2. 'Whatever there is, the whole world, when gone forth (from the Brahman), trembles in its breath. That Brahman is a great terror, like a drawn sword. Those who know it become immortal.'

3. 'From terror of Brahman fire burns, from terror the sun burns, from terror Indra and Vayu, and Death, as the fifth, run away.'

4. 'If a man could not understand it before the falling asunder of his body, then he has to take body again in the worlds of creation.'

5. 'As in a mirror, so (Brahman may be seen clearly) here in this body; as in a dream, in the world of the Fathers; as in the water, he is seen about in the world of the Gandharvas; as in light and shade, in the world of Brahma.'

6. 'Having understood that the senses are distinct (from the Atman), and that their rising and setting (their waking and sleeping) belongs to them in their distinct existence (and not to the Atman), a wise man grieves no more.'

7. 'Beyond the senses is the mind, beyond the mind is the highest (created) Being, higher than that Being is the Great Self, higher than the Great, the highest Undeveloped.'

8. 'Beyond the Undeveloped is the Person, the all-pervading and entirely imperceptible. Every creature that knows him is liberated, and obtains immortality.'

9. 'His form is not to be seen, no one beholds him with the eye. He is imagined by the heart, by wisdom, by the mind. Those who know this, are immortal.'

10. 'When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state.'

11. 'This, the firm holding back of the senses, is what is called Yoga. He must be free from thoughtlessness then, for Yoga comes and goes.'

12. 'He (the Self) cannot be reached by speech, by mind, or by the eye. How can it be apprehended except by him who says: "He is?"'

13. 'By the words "He is," is he to be apprehended, and by (admitting) the reality of both (the invisible Brahman and the visible world, as coming from Brahman). When he has been apprehended by the words "He is," then his reality reveals itself.'

14. 'When all desires that dwell in his heart cease, then the mortal becomes immortal, and obtains Brahman.'

15. 'When all the ties of the heart are severed here on the earth, then the mortal becomes immortal—here ends the teaching.'

16. 'There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart, one of them penetrates the crown of the head. Moving upwards by it, a man (at his death) reaches the Immortal; the other arteries serve for departing in different directions.'

17. 'The Person not larger than a thumb, the inner Self, is always settled in the heart of men. Let a man draw that Self forth from his body with steadiness, as one draws the pith from a reed. Let him know that Self as the Bright, as the Immortal; yes, as the Bright, as the Immortal.'

18. Having received this knowledge taught by Death and the whole rule of Yoga (meditation), Nakiketa became free from passion and death, and obtained Brahman. Thus it will be with another also who knows thus what relates to the Self.

19. May He protect us both! May He enjoy us both! May we acquire strength together! May our knowledge become bright! May we never quarrel! Om! Peace! peace! peace! Harih, Om!

TEACHINGS OF YAGNAVALKYA

BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD

THIRD ADHYAYA

FIRST BRAHMANA

ADORATION to the Highest Self (Paramatman) !

1. Ganaka Vaideha (the king of the Videhas) sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the Asvamedha). Brahmanas of the Kurus and the Pankalas had come thither, and Ganaka Vaideha wished to know, which of those Brahmanas was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, and ten padas (of gold) were fastened to each pair of horns.

2. And Ganaka spoke to them: 'Ye venerable Brahmanas, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows.'

Then those Brahmanas durst not, but Yagnavalkya said to his pupil: 'Drive them away, my dear.'

He replied: 'O glory of the Saman,' and drove them away.

The Brahmanas became angry and said: 'How could he call himself the wisest among us?'

Now there was Asvala, the Hotri priest of Ganaka Vaideha. He asked him: 'Are you indeed the wisest among us, O Yagnavalkya?' He replied: 'I bow before the wisest (the best knower of Brahman), but I wish indeed to have these cows.'

Then Asvala, the Hotri priest, undertook to question him.

3. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'everything here (connected with the sacrifice) is reached by death, everything is overcome by death. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of death?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'By the Hotri priest, who is Agni (fire), who is speech. For speech is the Hotri of the sacrifice (or the sacrificer), and speech is Agni, and he is the Hotri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom (from death).'

4. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by day and night, everything is overcome by day and night. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of day and night?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'By the Adhvaryu priest, who is the eye, who is Aditya (the sun). For the eye is the Adhvaryu of the sacrifice, and the eye is the sun, and he is the Adhvaryu. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

5. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'everything here is reached by the waxing and waning of the moon, everything is overcome by the waxing and waning of the moon. By what means then is the sacrificer freed beyond the reach of the waxing and waning of the moon?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'By the Udgatri priest, who is Vayu (the wind), who is the breath. For the breath is the Udgatri of the sacrifice, and the breath is the wind, and he is the Udgatri. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom.'

6. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'this sky is, as it were, without an ascent (staircase.) By what approach does the sacrificer approach the Svarga world?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'By the Brahman priest, who is the mind (manas), who is the moon. For the mind is the Brahman of the sacrifice, and the mind is the moon, and he is the Brahman. This constitutes freedom, and perfect freedom. These are the complete deliverances (from death).'

Next follow the achievements.

7. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'how many Rik verses will the Hotri priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yagnavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which are called Puronuvakya, Yagya, and, thirdly, Sasya.'

'What does he gain by them?'

'All whatsoever has breath.'

8. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'how many oblations (ahuti) will the Adhvaryu priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yagnavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which, when offered, flame up; those which, when offered, make an excessive noise; and those which, when offered, sink down.'

'What does he gain by them?'

'By those which, when offered, flame up, he gains the Deva (god) world, for the Deva world flames up, as it were. By those which, when offered, make an excessive noise, he gains the Pitri (father) world, for the Pitri world is excessively (noisy). By those which, when offered, sink down, he gains the Manushya (man) world, for the

Manushya world is, as it were, down below.'

9. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'with how many deities does the Brahman priest on the right protect to-day this sacrifice?'

'By one,' replied Yagnavalkya.

'And which is it?'

'The mind alone; for the mind is endless, and the Visvedevas are endless, and he thereby gains the endless world.'

10. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'how many Stotriya hymns will the Udgatri priest employ to-day at this sacrifice?'

'Three,' replied Yagnavalkya.

'And what are these three?'

'Those which are called Puronuvakya, Yagya, and thirdly, Sasya.' And what are these with regard to the body (adhyatmam)?'

'The Puronuvakya is Prana (up-breathing), the Yagya the Apana (down-breathing), the Sasya the Vyana (back-breathing).'

'What does he gain by them?'

'He gains the earth by the Puronuvakya, the sky by the Yagya, heaven by the Sasya.'

After that Asvala held his peace.

SECOND BRAHMANA

1. Then Garatkarava Artabhaga asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'how many Grahas are there, and how many Atigrahas?'

'Eight Grahas,' he replied, 'and eight Atigrahas.'

'And what are these eight Grahas and eight Atigrahas?'

2. 'Prana (breath) is one Graha, and that is seized by Apana (down-breathing) as the Atigraha, for one smells with the Apana.'

3. 'Speech (vak) is one Graha, and that is seized by name (naman) as the Atigraha, for with speech one pronounces names.'

4. 'The tongue is one Graha, and that is seized by taste as the Atigraha, for with the tongue one perceives tastes.'

5. 'The eye is one Graha, and that is seized by form as the Atigraha, for with the eye one sees forms.'

6. 'The ear is one Graha, and that is seized by sound as the Atigraha, for with the ear one hears sounds.'

7. 'The mind is one Graha, and that is seized by desire as the Atigraha, for with the mind one desires desires.'

8. 'The arms are one Graha, and these are seized by work as the Atigraha, for with the arms one works work.'

9. 'The skin is one Graha, and that is seized by touch as the

Atigraha, for with the skin one perceives touch. These are the eight Grahas and the eight Atigrahas.'

10. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'everything is the food of death. What then is the deity to whom death is food?'

'Fire (agni) is death, and that is the food of water. Death is conquered again.'

11. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'when such a person (a sage) dies, do the vital breaths (pranas) move out of him or no?'

'No,' replied Yagnavalkya; 'they are gathered up in him, he swells, he is inflated, and thus inflated the dead lies at rest.'

12. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'when such a man dies, what does not leave him?'

'The name,' he replied; 'for the name is endless, the Visvedevas are endless, and by it he gains the endless world.'

13. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'when the speech of this dead person enters into the fire, breath into the air, the eye into the sun, the mind into the moon, the hearing into space, into the earth the body, into the ether the self, into the shrubs the hairs of the body, into the trees the hairs of the head, when the blood and the seed are deposited in the water, where is then that person?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Take my hand, my friend. We two alone shall know of this; let this question of ours not be (discussed) in public.' Then these two went out and argued, and what they said was karman (work), what they praised was karman, viz. that a man becomes good by good work, and bad by bad work. After that Garatkarava Artabhaga held his peace.

THIRD BRAHMANA

1. Then Bhugyu Lahyayani asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'we wandered about as students, and came to the house of Patankala Kapyā. He had a daughter who was possessed by a Gandharva. We asked him, 'Who art thou?' and he (the Gandharva) replied: 'I am Sudhanvan, the Angirasa.' And when we asked him about the ends of the world, we said to him, 'Where were the Parikshitas? Where then were the Parikshitas, I ask thee, Yagnavalkya, where were the Parikshitas?'

2. Yagnavalkya said: 'He said to thee, I suppose, that they went where those go who have performed a horse-sacrifice.'

He said: 'And where do they go who have performed a horse-sacrifice?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Thirty-two journeys of the car of the sun is this world. The earth surrounds it on every side, twice as large, and the ocean surrounds this earth on every side, twice as large. Now there is between them a space as large as the edge of a razor or the wing of a mosquito. Indra, having become a bird, handed them (through the space) to Vayu (the air), and Vayu (the air), holding them within himself, conveyed them to where they dwell who have performed a horse-sacrifice. Somewhat in this way did he praise Vayu indeed. Therefore Vayu (air) is everything by itself, and Vayu is all things together. He who knows this, conquers death.' After that Bhugyu Lahyayani held his peace.

FOURTH BRAHMANA

1. Then Ushasta Kakrayana asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self (atman), who is within all.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yagnavalkya, is within all?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'He who breathes in the up-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the down-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the on-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. He who breathes in the out-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all. This is thy Self, who is within all.'

2. Ushasta Kakrayana said: 'As one might say, this is a cow, this is a horse, thus has this been explained by thee. Tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self, who is within all.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yagnavalkya, is within all?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Thou couldst not see the (true) seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the (true) hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of perception, nor know the knower of knowledge. This is thy Self, who is within all. Everything else is of evil.' After that Ushasta Kakrayana held his peace.

FIFTH BRAHMANA

1. Then Kahola Kaushitakeya asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self (atman), who is within all.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'This, thy Self, who is within all.'

'Which Self, O Yagnavalkya, is within all?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'He who overcomes hunger and thirst, sorrow, passion, old age, and death. When Brahmanas know that Self, and have risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and (new) worlds, they wander about as mendicants. For a desire for sons is desire for wealth, a desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires. Therefore let a Brahmana, after he has done with learning, wish to stand by real strength; after he has done with that strength and learning, he becomes a Muni (a Yogin); and after he has done with what is not the knowledge of a Muni, and with what is the knowledge of a Muni, he is a Brahmana. By whatever means he has become a Brahmana, he is such indeed. Everything else is of evil.' After that Kahola Kaushitakeya held his peace.

SIXTH BRAHMANA

I. Then Gargi Vakaknavi asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' she said, 'everything here is woven, like warp and woof, in water. What then is that in which water is woven, like warp and woof?'

'In air, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then is air woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the sky, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the sky woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Gandharvas, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the Gandharvas woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Aditya (sun), O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Aditya (sun) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Kandra (moon), O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Kandra (moon) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars), O Gargi, he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the Nakshatras (stars) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of the Devas (gods), O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of the Devas (gods) woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Indra, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Indra woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Pragapati, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are the worlds of Pragapati woven, like warp and woof?'

'In the worlds of Brahman, O Gargi,' he replied.

'In what then are worlds of Brahman woven, like warp and woof?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'O Gargi, do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off. Thou askest too much about a deity about which we are not to ask too much. Do not ask too much, O Gargi.' After that Gargi Vakaknavi held her peace.

SEVENTH BRAHMANA

1. Then Uddalaka Aruni asked. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'we dwelt among the Madras in the houses of Patankala Kapyā, studying the sacrifice. His wife was possessed of a Gandharva, and we asked him: "Who art thou?" He answered: "I am Kabandha Atharvana." And he said to Patankala Kapyā and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kapyā, that thread by which this world and the other world, and all beings are strung together?" And Patankala Kapyā replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patankala Kapyā and to (us) students: "Dost thou know, Kapyā, that puller (ruler) within (antaryamin), who within pulls (rules) this world and the other world and all beings?" And Patankala Kapyā replied: "I do not know it, Sir." He said again to Patankala Kapyā and to (us) students: "He, O Kapyā, who knows that thread and him who pulls (it) within, he knows Brahman, he knows the worlds, he knows the Devas, he knows the Vedas, he knows the Bhutas (creatures), he knows the Self, he knows everything." Thus did he (the Gandharva) say to them, and I know it. If thou, O Yagnavalkya, without knowing that string and the puller within, drivest away those Brahma-cows (the cows offered as a prize to him who best knows Brahman), thy head will fall off.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'O Gautama, I believe I know that thread and the puller within.'

The other said: 'Anybody may say, I know, I know. Tell what thou knowest.'

2. Yagnavalkya said: 'Vayu (air) is that thread, O Gautama. By air, as by a thread, O Gautama, this world and the other world, and all creatures are strung together. Therefore, O Gautama, people say of a dead person that his limbs have become unstrung; for by air, as by a thread, O Gautama, they were strung together.'

The other said: 'So it is, O Yagnavalkya. Tell now (who is) the puller within.'

3. Yagnavalkya said: 'He who dwells in the earth, and within the earth, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who pulls (rules) the earth within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

4. 'He who dwells in the water, and within the water, whom the water does not know, whose body the water is, and who pulls (rules) the water within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

5. 'He who dwells in the fire, and within the fire, whom the fire does not know, whose body the fire is, and who pulls (rules) the fire within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

6. 'He who dwells in the sky, and within the sky, whom the sky does not know, whose body the sky is, and who pulls (rules) the sky within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

7. 'He who dwells in the air (vayu), and within the air, whom the air does not know, whose body the air is, and who pulls (rules) the air within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

8. 'He who dwells in the heaven (dyu), and within the heaven, whom the heaven does not know, whose body the heaven is, and who pulls (rules) the heaven within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

9. 'He who dwells in the sun (aditya), and within the sun, whom the sun does not know, whose body the sun is, and who pulls (rules) the sun within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

10. 'He who dwells in the space (disah), and within the space, whom the space does not know, whose body the space is, and who pulls (rules) the space within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

11. 'He who dwells in the moon and stars (kandra-tarakam), and within the moon and stars, whom the moon and stars do not know, whose body the moon and stars are, and who pulls (rules) the moon and stars within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

12. 'He who dwells in the ether (akasa), and within the ether, whom the ether does not know, whose body the ether is, and who pulls (rules) the ether within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

13. 'He who dwells in the darkness (tamas), and within the darkness, whom the darkness does not know, whose body the darkness is, and who pulls (rules) the darkness within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

14. He who dwells in the light (tegas), and within the light, whom the light does not know, whose body the light is, and who pulls (rules) the light within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

So far with respect to the gods (adhidaivatam); now with respect to beings (adhibhutam).

15. Yagnavalkya said: 'He who dwells in all beings, and within all beings, whom all beings do not know, whose body all beings are, and who pulls (rules) all beings within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

16. 'He who dwells in the breath (prana), and within the breath, whom the breath does not know, whose body the breath is, and who pulls (rules) the breath within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

17. 'He who dwells in the tongue (vak), and within the tongue, whom the tongue does not know, whose body the tongue is, and who pulls (rules) the tongue within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

18. 'He who dwells in the eye, and within the eye, whom the eye does not know, whose body the eye is, and who pulls (rules) the eye within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

19. 'He who dwells in the ear, and within the ear, whom the ear does not know, whose body the ear is, and who pulls (rules) the ear within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

20. 'He who dwells in the mind, and within the mind, whom the mind does not know, whose body the mind is, and who pulls (rules) the mind within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

21. 'He who dwells in the skin, and within the skin, whom the skin does not know, whose body the skin is, and who pulls (rules) the skin within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

22. 'He who dwells in knowledge, and within knowledge, whom knowledge does not know, whose body knowledge is, and who pulls (rules) knowledge within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.'

23. 'He who dwells in the seed, and within the seed, whom the seed does not know, whose body the seed is, and who pulls (rules) the seed within, he is thy Self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal; unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, there is no other perceiver but he, there is no other

knower but he. This is thy Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is of evil.' After that Uddalaka Aruni held his peace.

EIGHTH BRAHMANA

1. Then Vakaknavi said: 'Venerable Brahmanas, I shall ask him two questions. If he will answer them, none of you, I think, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Ask, O Gargi.'

2. She said: 'O Yagnavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kasis or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foepiercing arrows in his hand and rise to do battle, I have risen to fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Ask, O Gargi.'

3. She said: 'O Yagnavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, tell me in what is it woven, like warp and woof?'

4. Yagnavalkya said: 'That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether (akasa).'

5. She said: 'I bow to thee, O Yagnavalkya, who hast solved me that question. Get thee ready for the second.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Ask, O Gargi.'

6. She said: 'O Yagnavalkya, that of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, tell me in what it is woven, like warp and woof?'

7. Yagnavalkya said: 'That of which they say that it is above the heavens, beneath the earth, embracing heaven and earth, past, present, and future, that is woven, like warp and woof, in the ether.'

Gargi said: 'In what then is the ether woven like warp and woof?'

8. He said: 'O Gargi, the Brahmanas call this the Akshara (the imperishable). It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, neither red (like fire) nor fluid (like water); it is without shadow, without darkness, without air, without ether, without attachment, without taste, without smell, without eyes, without ears, without speech, without mind, without light (vigour), without breath, without a mouth (or door), without measure, having no within and no without, it devours nothing, and no one devours it.'

9. 'By the command of that Akshara (the imperishable), O Gargi, sun and moon stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gargi,

heaven and earth stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gargi, what are called moments (nimesha), hours (muhurta), days and nights, half-months, months, seasons, years, all stand apart. By the command of that Akshara, O Gargi, some rivers flow to the East from the white mountains, others to the West, or to any other quarter. By the command of that Akshara, O Gargi, men praise those who give, the gods follow the sacrificer, the fathers the Darvi-offering.'

10. 'Whosoever, O Gargi, without knowing that Akshara (the imperishable), offers oblations in this world, sacrifices, and performs penance for a thousand years, his work will have an end. Whosoever, O Gargi, without knowing this Akshara, departs this world, he is miserable (like a slave). But he, O Gargi, who departs this world, knowing this Akshara, he is a Brahmana.'

11. 'That Brahman,' O Gargi, 'is unseen, but seeing; unheard, but hearing; unperceived, but perceiving; unknown, but knowing. There is nothing that sees but it, nothing that hears but it, nothing that perceives but it, nothing that knows but it. In that Akshara then, O Gargi, the ether is woven, like warp and woof.'

12. Then said Gargi: 'Venerable Brahmins, you may consider it a great thing, if you get off by bowing before him. No one, I believe, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.' After that Vakaknavi held her peace.

NINTH BRAHMANA

1. Then Vidagdha Sakalya asked him: 'How many gods are there, O Yagnavalkya?' He replied with this very Nivid: 'As many as are mentioned in the Nivid of the hymn of praise addressed to the Visvedevas, viz. three and three hundred, three and three thousand.'

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'Thirty-three,' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'Six,' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'Three,' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'Two,' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'One and a half (adhyardha),' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked again: 'How many gods are there really, O Yagnavalkya?'

'One,' he said.

'Yes,' he said, and asked: 'Who are these three and three hundred, three and three thousand?'

2. Yagnavalkya replied: 'They are only the various powers of them, in reality there are only thirty-three gods.'

He asked: 'Who are those thirty-three?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'The eight Vasus, the eleven Pudras, the twelve Adityas. They make thirty-one, and Indra and Pragapati make the thirty-three.'

3. He asked: 'Who are the Vasus.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Agni (fire), Prithivi (earth), Vayu (air), Antariksha (sky), Aditya (sun), Dyū (heaven), Kandramas (moon), the Nakshatras (stars), these are the Vasus, for in them all that dwells (this world) rests; and therefore they are called Vasus.'

4. He asked: 'Who are the Rudras?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'These ten vital breaths (pranas, the senses, i. e. the five gnanendriyas, and the five karmendriyas), and Atman, as the eleventh. When they depart from this mortal body, they make us cry (rodhayanti), and because they make us cry, they are called Rudras.'

5. He asked: 'Who are the Adityas?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'The twelve months of the year, and they are Adityas, because they move along (yanti), taking up everything (adadanah). Because they move along, taking up everything, therefore they are called Adityas.'

6. He asked: 'And who is Indra, and who is Pragapati?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Indra is thunder, Pragapati is the sacrifice.'

He asked: 'And what is thunder?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'The thunderbolt.'

He asked: 'And what is the sacrifice?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'The (sacrificial) animals.'

7. He asked: 'Who are the six?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Agni (fire), Prithivi (earth), Vayu (air), Antariksha (sky), Aditya (sun), Dyū (heaven), they are the six, for they are all this, the six.'

8. He asked: 'Who are the three gods?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'These three worlds, for in them all these gods exist.'

He asked: 'Who are the two gods?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Food and breath.'

He asked: 'Who is the one god and a half?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'He that blows.'

9. Here they say: 'How is it that he who blows like one only, should be called one and a half (adhyardha)?' And the answer is: 'Because, when the wind was blowing, everything grew (adhyardhnót).'

He asked: 'Who is the one god?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Breath (prana), and he is Brahman (the Sutrātman), and they call him That (tyad).'

10. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person (or god) whose dwelling (body) is the earth, whose sight (world) is fire, whose mind is light,—the principle of every (living) self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This corporeal (material, earthy) person, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata (deity)?'

Sakalya replied: 'The Immortal.'

11. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is love (a body capable of sensual love), whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. This love-made (loving) person, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'The women.'

12. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling are the colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. That person in the sun, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'The True.'

13. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is ether, whose sight is the ear, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person who hears and answers, "he

is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?"

Sakalya replied: 'Space.'

14. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is darkness, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The shadowy person, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'Death.'

15. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is (bright) colours, whose sight is the eye, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self of whom thou speakest. The person is the looking-glass, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'Vital breath' (asu).

16. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is water, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The person in the water, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is the devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'Varuna.'

17. Sakalya said: 'Whosoever knows that person whose dwelling is seed, whose sight is the heart, whose mind is light,—the principle of every self, he indeed is a teacher, O Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'I know that person, the principle of every self, of whom thou speakest. The filial person, "he is he." But tell me, Sakalya, who is his devata?'

Sakalya replied: 'Pragapati.'

18. Yagnavalkya said: 'Sakalya, did those Brahmanas (who themselves shrank from the contest) make thee the victim?'

Sakalya said: 'Yagnavalkya, because thou hast decried the Brahmanas of the Kuru-Pankalas, what Brahman dost thou know?'

19. Yagnavalkya said: 'I know the quarters with deities and their abodes.'

Sakalya said: 'If thou knowest the quarters with their deities and their abodes,'

20. 'Which is thy deity in the Eastern quarter?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Aditya (the sun).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does that Aditya abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the eye.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the eye abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the colours, for with the eye he sees the colours.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what then do the colours abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the heart, for we know colours by the heart, for colours abide in the heart.'

Sakalya said: 'So it is indeed, O Yagnavalkya.'

21. Sakalya said: 'Which is thy deity in the Southern quarter?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Yama.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does that Yama abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the sacrifice.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the sacrifice abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Dakshina (the gifts to be given to the priests).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Dakshina abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In Sraddha (faith), for if a man believes, then he gives Dakshina, and Dakshina truly abides in faith.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what then does faith abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the heart, for by the heart faith knows, and therefore faith abides in the heart.'

Sakalya said: 'So it is indeed, O Yagnavalkya.'

22. Sakalya said: 'Which is thy deity in the Western quarter?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Varuna.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does that Varuna abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the water.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the water abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the seed.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what does the seed abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the heart. And therefore also they say of a son who is like his father, that he seems as if slipt from his heart, or made from his heart; for the seed abides in the heart.'

Sakalya said: 'So it is indeed, O Yagnavalkya.'

23. Sakalya said: 'Which is thy deity in the Northern quarter?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Soma.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does that Soma abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Diksha.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Diksha abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the True; and therefore they say to one who has performed the Diksha, Speak what is true, for in the True indeed the Diksha abides.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what does the True abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the heart, for with the heart do we know what is true, and in the heart indeed the True abides.'

Sakalya said: 'So it is indeed, O Yagnavalkya.'

24. Sakalya said: 'Which is thy deity in the zenith?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Agni.'

Sakalya said: 'In what does that Agni abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In speech.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what does speech abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: In the heart.'

Sakalya said: 'And in what does the heart abide?'

25. Yagnavalkya said: 'O Ahallika, when you think the heart could be anywhere else away from us, if it were away from us, the dogs might eat it, or the birds tear it.'

26. Sakalya said: 'And in what dost thou (thy body) and the Self (thy heart) abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Prana (breath).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Prana abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Apana (down-breathing).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Apana abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Vyana (back-breathing).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Vyana abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Udana (out-breathing).'

Sakalya said: 'In what does the Udana abide?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'In the Samana. That Self (atman) is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be (is not) comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail.'

'These are the eight abodes (the earth, &c.), the eight worlds (fire, &c.), the eight gods (the immortal food, &c.), the eight persons (the corporeal, &c.). He who after dividing and uniting these persons, went beyond (the Samana), that person, taught in the Upanishads, I now ask thee (to teach me). If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head will fall.'

Sakalya did not know him, and his head fell, nay, thieves took away his bones, mistaking them for something else.

27. Then Yagnavalkya said: 'Reverend Brahmanas, whosoever among you desires to do so, may now question me. Or question me, all of you. Or whosoever among you desires it, I shall question him, or I shall question all of you.

But those Brahmanas durst not (say anything).

28. Then Yagnavalkya questioned them with these Slokas:

1. 'As a mighty tree in the forest, so in truth is man, his hairs are the leaves, his outer skin is the bark.

2. 'From his skin flows forth blood, sap from the skin (of the tree); and thus from the wounded man comes forth blood, as from a tree that is struck.

3. 'The lumps of his flesh are (in the tree) the layers of wood, the fibre is strong like the tendons. The bones are the (hard) wood within, the marrow is made like the marrow of the tree.

4. 'But, while the tree, when felled, grows up again more young from the root, from what root, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

5. 'Do not say, "from the seed," for seed is produced from the living; but a tree, springing from a grain, clearly rises again after death.

6. 'If a tree is pulled up by the root, it will not grow again; from what root then, tell me, does a mortal grow up, after he has been felled by death?

7. 'Once born, he is not born (again); for who should create him again?'

'Brahman, who is knowledge and bliss, he is the principle, both to him who gives gifts, and also to him who stands firm, and knows.'

FOURTH ADHYAYA

FIRST BRAHMANA

1. When Ganaka Vaideha was sitting (to give audience), Yagnavalkya approached, and Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Yagnavalkya, for what object did you come, wishing for cattle, or for subtle questions?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'For both, Your Majesty;

2. 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Gitvan Sailini told me that speech (vak) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Sailini tell you, that speech

is Brahman; for what is the use of a dumb person? But did he tell you the body (ayatana) and the resting-place (pratishtha) of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The tongue is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as knowledge.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that knowledge?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, speech itself (is knowledge). For through speech, Your Majesty, a friend is known (to be a friend), and likewise the Rig-veda, Yagur-veda, Sama-veda, the Atharvangirasas, the Itihasa (tradition), Purana-vidya (knowledge of the past), the Upanishads, Slokas (verses), Sutras (rules), Anuvyakhyanas and Vyakhyanas (commentaries, &c.); what is sacrificed, what is poured out, what is (to be) eaten and drunk, this world and the other world, and all creatures. By speech alone, Your Majesty, Brahman is known, speech indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Speech does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

3. Yagnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Udanka Saulbayana told me that life (prana) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Udanka Saulbayana tell you that life is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without life? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Breath is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is dear.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that which is dear?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, life itself (is that which is dear); because for the sake of life, Your Majesty, a man sacrifices even for him who is unworthy of sacrifice, he accepts presents from him who is not worthy to bestow presents, nay, he goes to a country, even when there is fear of being hurt, for the sake of life. Life, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Life does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

4. Yagnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Barku Varshna told me that sight (kakshus) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Barku Varshna tell you that sight is Brahman; for what is the use of a person who cannot see? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The eye is its body, ether its place, and one should worship it as what is true.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that which is true?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, sight itself (is that which is true); for if they say to a man who sees with his eye, "Didst thou see?" and he says, "I saw," then it is true. Sight, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Sight does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows and a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

5. Yagnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Gardabhivibhita Bharadvaga told me that hearing (srotra) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Gardabhivibhita Bharadvaga tell you that hearing is Brahman; for what is the use of a person who cannot hear? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The ear is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as what is endless.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of that which is endless?'

Yagnavalkya replied: Your Majesty, space (disah) itself (is that which is endless), and therefore to whatever space (quarter) he goes, he never comes to the end of it. For space is endless. Space indeed, O King, is hearing, and hearing indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Hearing does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

6. Yagnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Satyakama Gabala told me that mind (manas) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Satyakama Gabala tell you that mind is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without mind? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Mind itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as bliss.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of bliss?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, mind itself; for with the mind does a man desire a woman, and a like son is born of her, and he is bliss. Mind indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. Mind does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

7. Yagnavalkya said: 'Let us hear what anybody may have told you.'

Ganaka Vaideha replied: 'Vidagdha Sakalya told me that the heart (hridaya) is Brahman.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'As one who had (the benefit of a good) father, mother, and teacher might tell, so did Vidagdha Sakalya tell you that the heart is Brahman; for what is the use of a person without a heart? But did he tell you the body and the resting-place of that Brahman?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'He did not tell me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, this (Brahman) stands on one leg only.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Then tell me, Yagnavalkya.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The heart itself is its body, ether its place, and we should worship it as certainty (sthitī).'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'What is the nature of certainty?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Your Majesty, the heart itself; for the heart indeed, O King, is the body of all things, the heart is the resting-place of all things, for in the heart, O King, all things rest. The heart indeed, O King, is the Highest Brahman. The heart does not desert him who worships that (Brahman) with such knowledge, all creatures approach him, and having become a god, he goes to the gods.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I shall give you (for this) a thousand cows with a bull as big as an elephant.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'My father was of opinion that one should not accept a reward without having fully instructed a pupil.'

SECOND BRAHMANA

1. Ganaka Vaideha, descending from his throne, said: 'I bow to you, O Yagnavalkya, teach me.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Your Majesty, as a man who wishes to make a long journey, would furnish himself with a chariot or a ship, thus is your mind well furnished by these Upanishads. You are honourable, and wealthy, you have learnt the Vedas and been told the Upanishads. Whither then will you go when departing hence?'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I do not know whither I shall go.'

Yagnavalkya said: 'Then I shall tell you this, whither you will go.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Tell it, Sir.'

2. Yagnavalkya said: 'That person who is in the right eye, he is called Indha, and him who is Indha they call indeed Indra mysteriously, for the gods love what is mysterious, and dislike what is evident.'

3. 'Now that which in the shape of a person is in the right eye, is his wife, Virag. Their meeting-place is the ether within the heart, and their food the red lump within the heart. Again, their covering is that which is like the net-work within the heart, and the road on which they move (from sleep to waking) is the artery that rises upwards from the heart. Like a hair divided into a thousand parts, so are the veins of it, which are called Hita, placed firmly within the heart. Through these indeed that (food) flows on flowing, and he (the Taigasa) receives as it were purer food than the corporeal Self (the Vaisvanara).'

4. 'His (the Taigasa's) Eastern quarter are (is) the pranas (breath) which go to the East;

'His Southern quarter are the pranas which go to the South;

'His Western quarter are the pranas which go to the West;

'His Northern quarter are the pranas which go to the North;

'His Upper (Zenith) quarter are the pranas which go upward;

'His Lower (Nadir) quarter are the pranas which go downward;

'All the quarters are all the pranas. And he (the Atman in that state) can only be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is undecaying, for he cannot decay; he is not attached, for he does not attach himself; he is unbound, he does not suffer, he does not perish. O Ganaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness,'—thus said Yagnavalkya.

Then Ganaka said: 'May that fearlessness come to you also who teachest us fearlessness. I bow to you. Here are the Videhas, and here am I (thy slave).'

THIRD BRAHMANA.

I. Yagnavalkya came to Ganaka Vaideha, and he did not mean

to speak with him. But when formerly Ganaka Vaideha and Yagnavalkya had a disputation on the Agnihotra, Yagnavalkya had granted him a boon, and he chose (for a boon) that he might be free to ask him any question he liked. Yagnavalkya granted it, and thus the King was the first to ask him a question.

2. 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'what is the light of man?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'The sun, O King, for, having the sun alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yagnavalkya.'

3. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, what is then the light of man?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The moon indeed is his light, for, having the moon alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yagnavalkya.'

4. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, what is the light of man?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Fire indeed is his light; for, having fire alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

5. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, what is then the light of man?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'Sound indeed is his light; for, having sound alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns. Therefore, O King, when one cannot see even one's own hand, yet when a sound is raised, one goes towards it.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yagnavalkya.'

6. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, and sound hushed, what is then the light of man?'

Yagnavalkya said: 'The Self indeed is his light; for, having the Self alone as his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

7. Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Who is that Self?'

Yagnavalkya replied: 'He who is within the heart, surrounded by the Pranas (senses), the person of light, consisting of knowledge. He, remaining the same, wanders along the two worlds, as if thinking, as if moving. During sleep (in dream) he transcends this world and all the forms of death (all that falls under the sway of death, all that is perishable).

8. 'On being born that person, assuming his body, becomes united with all evils; when he departs and dies, he leaves all evils behind.

9. 'And here are two states for that person, the one here in this world, the other in the other world, and as a third and intermediate state, the state of sleep. When in that intermediate state, he sees both those states together, the one here in this world, and the other in the other world. Now whatever his admission to the other world may be, having gained that admission, he sees both the evils and the blessings.

'And when he falls asleep, then after having taken away with him the material from the whole world, destroying and building it up again, he sleeps (dreams) by his own light. In that state the person is self-illuminated.

10. 'There are no (real) chariots in that state, no horses, no roads, lakes, no rivers, but he himself sends forth (creates) tanks, lakes, and rivers. He indeed is the maker.

11. 'On this there are these verses:

'After having subdued by sleep all that belongs to the body, he, not but he himself sends forth (creates) chariots, horses, and roads. There are no blessings there, no happiness, no joys, but he himself sends forth (creates) blessings, happiness, and joys. There are no tanks there, no asleep himself, looks down upon the sleeping (senses). Having assumed light, he goes again to his place, the golden person, the lonely bird. (1)

12. 'Guarding with the breath (prana, life) the lower nest, the immortal moves away from the nest; that immortal one goes wherever he likes, the golden person, the lonely bird. (2)

13. 'Going up and down in his dream, the god makes manifold shapes for himself, either rejoicing together with women, or laughing (with his friends), or seeing terrible sights. (3)

14. 'People may see his playground, but himself no one sees. Therefore they say, "Let no one wake a man suddenly, for it is not easy to remedy, if he does not get back (rightly to his body)."

'Here some people (object and) say: "No, this (sleep) is the same as the place of waking, for what he sees while awake, that only he sees when asleep." No, here (in sleep) the person is self-illuminated (as we explained before).'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.'

15. Yagnavalkya said: 'That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of bliss (samprasada, deep sleep), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from

which he started (the place of sleep), to dream. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So it is indeed, Yagnavalkya, I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

16. Yagnavalkya said: 'That (person) having enjoyed himself in that sleep (dream), having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to be awake. And whatever he may have seen there, he is not followed (affected) by it, for that person is not attached to anything.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So it is indeed, Yagnavalkya. I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of emancipation.'

17. Yagnavalkya said: 'That (person) having enjoyed himself in that state of waking, having moved about and seen both good and evil, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the state of sleeping (dream).

18. 'In fact, as a large fish moves along the two banks of a river, the right and the left, so does that person move along these two states, the state of sleeping and the state of waking.

19. 'And as a falcon, or any other (swift) bird, after he has roamed about here in the air, becomes tired, and folding his wings is carried to his nest, so does that person hasten to that state where, when asleep, he desires no more desires, and dreams no more dreams.

20. 'There are in his body the veins called Hita, which are as small as a hair divided a thousandfold, full of white, yellow, green, and red. Now when, as it were, they kill him, when, as it were, they overcome him, when, as it were, an elephant chases him, when, as it were, he falls into a well, he fancies, through ignorance, that danger which he (commonly) sees in waking. But when he fancies that he is, as it were, a god, or that he is, as it were, a king, or "I am this altogether," that is his highest world.

21. 'This indeed is his (true) form, free from desires, free from evil, free from fear. Now as a man, when embraced by a beloved wife, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, thus this person, when embraced by the intelligent (pragna) Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within. This indeed is his (true) form, in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the Self (only) is his wish, in which no wish is left,—free from sorrow.

22. 'Then a father is not a father, a mother not a mother, the worlds not worlds, the gods not gods, the Vedas not Vedas. Then a

thief is not a thief, a murderer not a murderer, a Kandala not a Kandala, a Pulkasa not a Pulkasa, a Sramana not a Sramana, a Tapasa not a Tapasa. He is not followed by good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart.

23. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not see, yet he is seeing, though he does not see. For sight is inseparable from the seer, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could see.

24. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not smell, yet he is smelling, though he does not smell. For smelling is inseparable from the smeller, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could smell.

25. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not taste, yet he is tasting, though he does not taste. For tasting is inseparable from the taster, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could taste.

26. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not speak, yet he is speaking, though he does not speak. For speaking is inseparable from the speaker, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could speak.

27. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not hear, yet he is hearing, though he does not hear. For hearing is inseparable from the hearer, because it cannot perish. But there is no second, nothing else different from him that he could hear.

28. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not think, yet he is thinking, though he does not think. For thinking is inseparable from the thinker, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

29. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not touch, yet he is touching, though he does not touch. For touching is inseparable from the toucher, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could think.

30. 'And when (it is said that) there (in the Sushupti) he does not know, yet he is knowing, though he does not know. For knowing is inseparable from the knower, because it cannot perish. But there is then no second, nothing else different from him that he could know.

31. 'When (in waking and dreaming) there is, as it were, another, then can one see the other, then can one smell the other, then can one speak to the other, then can one hear the other, then can one think the other, then can one touch the other, then can one know the other.

32. 'An ocean is that one seer, without any duality; this is the Brahma-world, O King.' Thus did Yagnavalkya teach him. This is his highest goal, this is his highest success, this is his highest world, this is his highest bliss. All other creatures live on a small portion of that bliss.

33. 'If a man is healthy, wealthy, and lord of others, surrounded by all human enjoyments, that is the highest blessing of men. Now a hundred of these human blessings make one blessing of the fathers who have conquered the world (of the fathers). A hundred blessings of the fathers who have conquered this world make one blessing in the Gandharva world. A hundred blessings in the Gandharva world make one blessing of the Devas by merit (work, sacrifice), who obtain their god-head by merit. A hundred blessings of the Devas by merit make one blessing of the Devas by birth, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings of the Devas by birth make one blessing in the world of Pragapati, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. A hundred blessings in the world of Pragapati make one blessing in the world of Brahman, also (of) a Srotriya who is without sin, and not overcome by desire. And this is the highest blessing.

'This the Brahma-world, O king,' thus spake Yagnavalkya.

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'I give you, Sir, a thousand. Speak on for the sake of (my) emancipation.'

Then Yagnavalkya was afraid lest the King, having become full of understanding, should drive him from all his positions.

34. And Yagnavalkya said: 'That (person), having enjoyed himself in that state of sleeping (dream), having moved about and seen both good and bad, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to the place of waking.

35. 'Now as a heavy-laden carriage moves along groaning, thus does this corporeal Self, mounted by the intelligent Self, move along groaning, when a man is thus going to expire.

36. 'And when (the body) grows weak through old age, or becomes weak through illness, at that time that person, after separating himself from his members, as an Amra (mango), or Udumbara (fig), or Pippala-fruit is separated from the stalk, hastens back again as he came, to the place from which he started, to (new) life.

37. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors wait for a king who is coming back, with food and drink, saying, "He comes back, he approaches," thus do all the elements wait for him who knows

this, saying, "That Brahman comes, that Brahman approaches."

38. 'And as policemen, magistrates, equerries, and governors gather round a king who is departing, thus do all the senses (pranas) gather round the Self at the time of death, when a man is thus going to expire.'

FOURTH BRAHMANA

1. Yagnavalkya continued: 'Now when that Self, having sunk into weakness, sinks, as it were, into unconsciousness, then gather those senses (pranas) around him, and he, taking with him those elements of light, descends into the heart. When that person in the eye turns away, then he ceases to know any forms.

2. "He has become one," they say, "he does not see." "He has become one," they say, "he does not smell." "He has become one," they say, "he does not taste." "He has become one," they say, "he does not speak." "He has become one," they say, "he does not hear." "He has become one," they say, "he does not think." "He has become one," they say, "he does not touch." "He has become one," they say, "he does not know." The point of his heart becomes lighted up, and by that light the Self departs, either through the eye, or through the skull, or through other places of the body. And when he thus departs, life (the chief prana) departs after him, and when life thus departs, all the other vital spirits (pranas) depart after it. He is conscious, and being conscious he follows and departs.

'Then both his knowledge and his work take hold of him, and his acquaintance with former things.

3. 'And as a caterpillar, after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach (to another blade), draws itself together towards it, thus does this Self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach (to another body), draw himself together towards it.

4. 'And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape, so does this Self, after having thrown off this body and dispelled all ignorance, make unto himself another, newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like the Devas, or like Pragapati or like Brahman, or like other things.

5. 'That Self is indeed Brahman, consisting of knowledge, mind, life, sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right or wrong, and all things.

Now as a man is like this or like that, according as he acts and according as he behaves, so will he be:—a man of good acts will become good, a man of bad acts, bad. He becomes pure by pure deeds, bad by bad deeds.

‘And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap.

6. ‘And here is this verse: “To whatever object a man’s own mind is attached, to that he goes strenuously together with his deed; and having obtained the end (the last results) of whatever deed he does here on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deed) to this world of action.”

‘So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire, who, not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere,—being Brahman, he goes to Brahman.

7. ‘On this there is this verse: “When all desires which once entered his heart are undone, then does the mortal become immortal, then he obtains Brahman.”

‘And as the slough of a snake lies on an ant-hill, dead and cast away, thus lies this body; but that disembodied immortal spirit (prana, life) is Brahman only, is only light.’

Ganaka Vaideha said: ‘Sir, I give you a thousand.’

8. ‘On this there are these verses:

‘The small, old path stretching far away has been found by me. On it sages who know Brahman move on to the Svarga-loka (heaven), and thence higher on, as entirely free.

9. ‘On that path they say that there is white, or blue, or yellow, or green, or red; that path was found by Brahman, and on it goes whoever knows Brahman, and who has done good, and obtained splendour.

10. ‘All who worship what is not knowledge (avidya) enter into blind darkness: those who delight in knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

11. ‘There are indeed those unblessed worlds, covered with blind darkness. Men who are ignorant and not enlightened go after death to those worlds.

12. ‘If a man understands the Self, saying, “I am He,” what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body.

13. ‘Whoever has found and understood the Self that has entered into this patched-together hiding-place, he indeed is the creator, for he

is the maker of everything, his is the world, and he is the world itself.

14. 'While we are here, we may know this ; if not, I am ignorant, and there is great destruction. Those who know it, become immortal, but others suffer pain indeed.

15. 'If a man clearly beholds this Self as God, and as the lord of all that is and will be, then he is no more afraid.

16. 'He behind whom the year revolves with the days, him the gods worship as the light of lights, as immortal time.

17. 'He in whom the five beings and the ether rest, him alone I believe to be the Self,—I who know, believe him to be Brahman ; I who am immortal, believe him to be immortal.

18. 'They who know the life of life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, they have comprehended the ancient, primeval Brahman.

19. 'By the mind alone it is to be perceived, there is in it no diversity. He who perceives therein any diversity, goes from death to death.

20. 'This eternal being that can never be proved, is to be perceived in one way only ; it is spotless, beyond the ether, the unborn Self, great and eternal.

21. 'Let a wise Brahmana, after he has discovered him, practice wisdom. Let him not seek after many words, for that is mere weariness of the tongue.

22. 'And he is that great unborn Self, who consists of knowledge, is surrounded by the Pranas, the ether within the heart. In it there reposes the ruler of all, the king of all. He does not become greater by good works, nor smaller by evil works. He is the lord of all, the king of all things, the protector of all things. He is a bank and a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Brahmanas seek to know him by the study of the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by penance, by fasting, and he who knows him, becomes a Muni. Wishing for that world (for Brahman) only, mendicants leave their homes.

'Knowing this, the people of old did not wish for offspring. What shall we do with offspring, they said, we who have this Self and this world (of Brahman) ? And they, having risen above the desire for sons, wealth, and new worlds, wander about as mendicants. For desire for sons is desire for wealth, and desire for wealth is desire for worlds. Both these are indeed desires only. He, the Self, is to be described by No, no ! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended ; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish ; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself ; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. Him

(who knows), these two do not overcome, whether he says that for some reason he has done evil, or for some reason he has done good—he overcomes both, and neither what he has done, nor what he has omitted to do, burns (affects) him.

23. 'This has been told by a verse (Rik): "This eternal greatness of the Brahmana does not grow larger by work, nor does it grow smaller. Let man try to find (know) its trace, for having found (known) it, he is not sullied by any evil deed."

'He therefore that knows it, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected, sees self in Self, sees all as Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubt, he becomes a (true) Brahmana; this the Brahma-world, O King,'—thus spoke Yagnavalkya.'

Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Sir, I give you the Videhas, and also myself, to be together your slaves.'

24. This indeed is the great, the unborn Self, the strong, the giver of wealth. He who knows this obtains wealth.

25. This great, unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman. Fearless is Brahman, and he who knows this becomes verily the fearless Brahman.

FIFTH BRAHMANA

1. Yagnavalkya had two wives, Maitreyi and Katyayani. Of these Maitreyi was conversant with Brahman, but Katyayani possessed such knowledge only as women possess. And Yagnavalkya, when he wished to get ready for another state of life (when he wished to give up the state of a householder, and retire into the forest),

2. Said, 'Maitreyi, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Katyayani.'

3. Maitreyi said: 'My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it, or no?'

'No,' replied Yagnavalkya, 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.'

4. And Maitreyi said: 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal. What my Lord knoweth (of immortality), tell that clearly to me.'

5. Yagnavalkya replied: 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou hast increased what is dear (to me in thee). Therefore, if you like,

Lady, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'

6. And he said: 'Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

'Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

'Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

'Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear.

'Verily, cattle are not dear, that you may love cattle; but that you may love the Self, therefore cattle are dear.

'Verily, the Brahman-class is not dear, that you may love the Brahman-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Brahman-class is dear.

'Verily, the Kshatra-class is not dear, that you may love the Kshatra-class; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Kshatra-class is dear.

'Verily, the worlds are not dear, that you may love the worlds; but that you may love the Self, therefore the worlds are dear.

'Verily, the Devas are not dear, that you may love the Devas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Devas are dear.

'Verily, the Vedas are not dear, that you may love the Vedas; but that you may love the Self, therefore the Vedas are dear.

'Verily, creatures are not dear, that you may love the creatures; but that you may love the Self, therefore are creatures dear.

'Verily, everything is not dear, that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.

'Verily, the Self is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, to be marked, O Maitreyi! When the Self has been seen, heard, perceived, and known, then all this is known.

7. 'Whosoever looks for the Brahman-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Brahman-class. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-class elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Kshatra-class. Whosoever looks for the worlds elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the worlds. Whosoever looks for the Devas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Devas. Whosoever looks for the Vedas elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the Vedas. Whosoever looks for the creatures elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by the creatures. Whosoever looks for anything elsewhere than in the Self, was abandoned by anything.

'This Brahman-class, this Kshatra-class, these worlds, these Devas, these Vedas, all these beings, this everything, all is that Self.

8. 'Now as the sounds of a drum, when beaten, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the drum is seized, or the beater of the drum ;

9. 'And as the sounds of a conch-shell, when blown, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the shell is seized, or the blower of the shell ;

10. 'And as the sounds of a lute, when played, cannot be seized externally (by themselves), but the sound is seized, when the lute is seized, or the player of the lute ;

11. 'As clouds of smoke proceed by themselves out of lighted fire kindled with damp fuel, thus verily, O Maitreyi, has been breathed forth from this great Being what we have as Rig-veda, Yagur-veda, Sama-veda, Atharvangirasas, Itihasa, Purana, Vidya, the Upanishads, Slokas, Sutras, Anuvyakhyanas, Vyakhyanas, what is sacrificed, what is poured out, food, drink, this world and the other world, and all creatures. From him alone all these were breathed forth.

12. 'As all waters find their centre in the sea, all touches in the skin, all tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all percepts in the mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the hands, all movements in the feet, and all the Vedas in speech,—

13. 'As a mass of salt has neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of taste, thus indeed has that Self neither inside nor outside, but is altogether a mass of knowledge ; and having risen from out these elements, vanishes again in them. When he has departed, there is no more knowledge (name), I say, O Maitreyi,'—thus spoke Yagna-
valkya.

14. Then Maitreyi said : 'Here, Sir, thou hast landed me in utter bewilderment. Indeed, I do not understand him.'

But he replied : 'O Maitreyi, I say nothing that is bewildering. Verily, beloved, that Self is imperishable, and of an undestructible nature.

15. 'For when there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one tastes the other, one salutes the other, one hears the other, one perceives the other, one touches the other, one knows the other ; but when the Self only is all this, how should he see another, how should he smell another, how should he taste another, how should he salute another, how should he hear another, how should he

touch another, how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this? That Self is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How, O beloved, should he know the Knower? Thus, O Maitreyi, thou hast been instructed. Thus far goes immortality.' Having said so, Yagna-
valkya went away (into the forest).

SIXTH BRAHMANA

1. Now follows the stem:

1. (We) from Pautimashya,
2. Pautimashya from Gaupavana,
3. Gaupavana from Pautimashya,
4. Pautimashya from Gaupavana,
5. Gaupavana from Kausika,
6. Kausika from Kaundinya,
7. Kaundinya from Sandilya,
8. Sandilya from Kausika and Gautama,
9. Gautama 2. from Agnivesva,
10. Agnivesya from Gargya,
11. Gargya from Gargya,
12. Gargya from Gautama,
13. Gautama from Saitava,
14. Saitava from Parasaryayana,
15. Parasaryayana from Gargyayana,
16. Gargyayana from Uddalakayana,
17. Uddalakayana from Gabalayana,
18. Gabalayana from Madhyandinayana,
19. Madhyandinayana from Saukarayana,
20. Saukarayana from Kashayana,
21. Kashayana from Sayakayana,
22. Sayakayana from Kausikayani,
23. Kausikayani 3. from Ghritakausika,
24. Ghritakausika from Parasaryayana,
25. Parasaryayana from Parasarya,
26. Parasarya from Gatukarnya,
27. Gatukarnya from Asurayana and Yaska,
28. Asurayana from Travani,
29. Travani from Aupagandhani,

30. Aupagandhani from Asuri,
 31. Asuri from Bharadvaga,
 32. Bharadvaga from Atreya,
 33. Atreya from Manti,
 34. Manti from Gautama,
 35. Gautama from Gautama,
 36. Gautama from Vatsya,
 37. Vatsya from Sandilya,
 38. Sandilya from Kaisorya Kapyā,
 39. Kaisorya Kapyā from Kumaraharita,
 40. Kumaraharita from Galava,
 41. Galava from Vidarbhi-kaundinya,
 42. Vidarbhi-kaundinya from Vatsanapat Babhrava,
 43. Vatsanapat Babhrava from Pathi Saubhara,
 44. Pathi Saubhara from Ayasya Angirasa,
 45. Ayasya Angirasa from Abhuti Tvashtṛa,
 46. Abhuti Tvashtṛa from Visvraupa Tvashtṛa,
 47. Visvarupa Tvashtṛa from Asvinau,
 48. Asvinau from Dadhyak Atharvana,
 49. Dadhyak Atharvana from Atharvan Daiva,
 50. Atharvan Daiva from Mrityu Pradhvamsana,
 51. Mrityu Pradhvamsana from Pradhvamsana,
 52. Pradhvamsana from Ekarshi,
 53. Ekarshi from Viprakitti,
 54. Viprakitti from Vyashti,
 55. Vyashti from Sanaru,
 56. Sanaru from Sanatana,
 57. Sanatana from Sanaga,
 58. Sanaga from Parameshthin,
 59. Parameshthin from Brahman,
 60. Brahman is Svayambhu, self-existent.
- Adoration to Brahman.

KHANDOGYA UPANISHAD

FOURTH PRAPATHAKA

FOURTH KHANDA

1. SATYAKAMA, THE SON OF GABALA, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmakarin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant (waiting on the guests in my father's house), I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabala by name, thou art Satyakama (Philalethes). Say that thou art Satyakama Gabala.'

3. He going to Gautama Haridrumata said to him, 'I wish to become a Brahmakarin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?'

4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered: "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabala by name, thou art Satyakama," I am therefore Satyakama Gabala, Sir.'

5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brahmana would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'

Having initiated him, he chose four hundred lean and weak cows, and said: 'Tend these, friend.' He drove them out and said to himself, 'I shall not return unless I bring back a thousand.' He dwelt a number of years (in the forest), and when the cows had become a thousand,

FIFTH KHANDA

1. The bull of the herd (meant for Vayu) said to him: 'Satyakama!' He replied: 'Sir!' The bull said: 'We have become a thousand, lead us to the house of the teacher;

2. 'And I will declare to you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'The eastern region is one quarter, the western region is one quarter, the southern region is one quarter, the northern region is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, and called Prakasavat (endowed with splendour).

3. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Prakasavat, becomes endowed with splendour in this world. He conquers the resplendent worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, by the name of Prakasavat.

SIXTH KHANDA

1. 'Agni will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the bull), Satyakama, on the morrow, drove the cows (toward the house of the teacher). And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat behind the fire, looking to the east.

2. Then Agni (the fire) said to him: 'Satyakama!' He replied: 'Sir.'

3. Agni said: 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'The earth is one quarter, the sky is one quarter, the heaven is one quarter, the ocean is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Anantavat (endless).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Anantavat, becomes endless in this world. He conquers the endless worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters by the name of Anantavat.

SEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'A Hamsa (flamingo, meant for the sun) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of Agni), Satyakama, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a Hamsa flew near and said to him: 'Satyakama.' He replied: 'Sir.'

3. The Hamsa said: 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'Fire is one quarter, the sun is one quarter, the moon is one quarter, lightning is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Gyotishmat (full of light).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Gyotishmat, becomes full of light in this world. He conquers the worlds which are full of light, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Gyotishmat.

EIGHTH KHANDA

1. 'A diver-bird (Madgu, meant for Prana) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the Hamsa), Satyakama, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a diver flew near and said to him: 'Satyakama.' He replied: 'Sir.'

3. The diver said: 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'Breath is one quarter, the eye is one quarter, the ear is one quarter, the mind is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Ayatanavat (having a home).

'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Ayatanavat, becomes possessed of a home in this world. He conquers the worlds which offer a home, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Ayatanavat.'

NINTH KHANDA

1. Thus he reached the house of his teacher. The teacher said to him: 'Satyakama.' He replied: 'Sir.'

2. The teacher said: 'Friend, you shine like one who knows Brahman. Who then has taught you?' He replied: 'Not men. But you only, Sir, I wish, should teach me;

3. 'For I have heard from men like you, Sir, that only knowledge which is learnt from a teacher (Akarya), leads to real good.' Then he taught him the same knowledge. Nothing was left out, yea, nothing was left out.

TENTH KHANDA

1. Upakosala Kamalayana dwelt as a Brahmakarin (religious student) in the house of Satyakama Gabala. He tended his fires for twelve years. But the teacher, though he allowed other pupils (after they had learnt the sacred books) to depart to their own homes, did not allow Upakosala to depart.

2. Then his wife said to him: 'This student, who is quite exhausted (with austerities), has carefully tended your fires. Let not the fires themselves blame you, but teach him.' The teacher, however, went away on a journey without having taught him.

3. The student from sorrow was not able to eat. Then the wife of the teacher said to him: 'Student, eat! Why do you not eat?' He said: 'There are many desires in this man here, which lose themselves in different directions. I am full of sorrows, and shall take no food.'

4. Thereupon the fires said among themselves: 'This student, who is quite exhausted, has carefully tended us. Well, let us teach him.' They said to him:

5. 'Breath is Brahman, Ka (pleasure) is Brahman, Kha (ether) is Brahman.'

He said: 'I understand that breath is Brahman, but I do not understand Ka or Kha.'

They said: 'What is Ka is Kha, what is Kha is Ka.' They therefore taught him Brahman as breath, and as the ether (in the heart).

ELEVENTH KHANDA

1. After that the Garhapatya fire taught him: 'Earth, fire, food, and the sun (these are my forms, or forms of Brahman). The person that is seen in the sun, I am he, I am he indeed.'

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Garhapatya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

TWELFTH KHANDA

1. Then the Anvaharya fire taught him: 'Water, the quarters,

the stars, the moon (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the moon, I am he, I am he indeed.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Anvaharya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then the Ahavaniya fire taught him: 'Breath, ether, heaven, and lightning (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the lightning, I am he, I am he indeed.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Ahavaniya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

FOURTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then they all said: 'Upakosala, this is our knowledge, our friend, and the knowledge of the Self, but the teacher will tell you the way (to another life).'

2. In time his teacher came back, and said to him: 'Upakosala.' He answered: 'Sir.' The teacher said: 'Friend, your face shines like that of one who knows Brahman. Who has taught you?'

'Who should teach me, Sir?' he said. He denies, as it were. And he said (pointing) to the fires: 'Are these fires other than fires?'

The teacher said: 'What, my friend, have these fires told you?'

3. He answered: 'This' (repeating some of what they had told him).

The teacher said: 'My friend, they have taught you about the worlds, but I shall tell you this; and as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows it.' He said: 'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA

1. He said: 'The person that is seen in the eye, that is the Self. This is the immortal, the fearless, this Brahman. Even though they drop melted butter or water on him, it runs away on both sides.

2. 'They call him Samyadvama, for all blessings (vama) go towards him (samyanti). All blessings go towards him who knows this.

3. 'He is also Vamani, for he leads (nayati) all blessings (vama). He leads all blessings who knows this.

4. 'He is also Bhamani, for he shines (bhati) in all worlds. He who knows this, shines in all worlds.

5. 'Now (if one who knows this, dies), whether people perform obsequies for him or no, he goes to light (arkis), from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human,

6. 'He leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path, do not return to the life of man, yea, they do not return.'

FIFTH PRAPATHAKA

FIRST KHANDA

1. He who knows the oldest and the best becomes himself the oldest and the best. Breath indeed is the oldest and the best.

2. He who knows the richest, becomes himself the richest. Speech indeed is the richest.

3. He who knows the firm rest, becomes himself firm in this world and in the next. The eye indeed is the firm rest.

4. He who knows success, his wishes succeed, both his divine and human wishes. The ear indeed is success.

5. He who knows the home, becomes a home of his people. The mind indeed is the home.

6. The five senses quarrelled together, who was the best, saying, I am better, I am better.

7. They went to their father Pragapati and said: 'Sir, who is the best of us?' He replied: 'He by whose departure the body seems worse than worst, he is the best of you.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like mute people, not speaking, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then speech went back.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?'

They replied: 'Like blind people, not seeing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the eye went back.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like deaf people, not hearing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the ear went back.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said: 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied: 'Like children whose mind is not yet formed, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear. Thus we lived.' Then the mind went back.

12. The breath, when on the point of departing, tore up the other senses, as a horse, going to start, might tear up the pegs to which he is tethered. They came to him and said: 'Sir, be thou (our lord); thou art the best among us. Do not depart from us!'

13. Then the tongue said to him: 'If I am the richest, thou art the richest.' The eye said to him: 'If I am the firm rest, thou art the firm rest.'

14. The ear said to him: 'If I am success, thou art success.' The mind said to him: 'If I am the home, thou art the home.'

15. And the people do not call them, the tongues, the eyes, the ears, the minds, but the breaths (prana, the senses). For breath is all these.

SECOND KHANDA

1. Breath said: 'What shall be my food?' They answered: 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs and birds.' Therefore this is for Ana (the breather). His name is clearly Ana. To him who knows this there is nothing that is not (proper) food.

2. He said: 'What shall be my dress?' They answered: 'Water.' Therefore wise people, when they are going to eat food, surround their food before and after with water.' He (prana) thus gains a dress, and is no longer naked.

3. Satyakama Gabala, after he had communicated this to Gos-ruti Vaiyaghrapadya, said to him: 'If you were to tell this to a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring from it.'

4. If a man wishes to reach greatness, let him perform the Diksha

(preparatory rite) on the day of the new moon, and then, on the night of the full moon, let him stir a mash of all kinds of herbs with curds and honey, and let him pour ghee on the fire (avasathya laukika), saying 'Svaha to the oldest and the best.' After that let him throw all that remains (of the ghee) into the mash.

5. In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svaha to the richest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svaha to the firm rest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svaha to success.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

6. Then going forward and placing the mash in his hands, he recites: Thou (Prana) art Ama by name, for all this together exists in thee. He is the oldest and best, the king, the sovereign. May I be all this.'

7. Then he eats with the following *Rik* verse at every foot: 'We choose that food'—here he swallows—'Of the divine Savitri (prana)'—here he swallows—'The best and all-supporting food'—here he swallows—'We meditate on the speed of Bhaga (Savitri, prana)'—here he drinks all.

8. Having cleansed the vessel, whether it be a kamsa or a kamasa, he sits down behind the fire on a skin or on the bare ground, without speaking or making any other effort. If in his dream he sees a woman, let him know this to be a sign that his sacrifice has succeeded.

9. On this there is a Sloka: 'If during sacrifices which are to fulfil certain wishes he sees in his dreams a woman, let him know success from this vision in a dream, yea, from this vision in a dream.'

THIRD KHANDA

1. Svetaketu Aruneya went to an assembly of the Pankalas. Pravahana Gaivali said to him: 'Boy, has your father instructed you?' 'Yes, Sir,' he replied.

2. 'Do you know to what place men go from here?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

'Do you know how they return again?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

'Do you know where the path of Devas and the path of the fathers diverge?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

3. 'Do you know why the world never becomes full?' 'No, Sir, he replied.

'Do you know why in the fifth libation water is called Man?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

4. 'Then why did you say (you had been) instructed? How could anybody who did not know these things say that he had been instructed?' Then the boy went back sorrowful to the place of his father, and said: 'Though you had not instructed me, Sir, you said you had instructed me.

5. 'That fellow of a Raganya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them.' The father said: 'As you have told me these questions of his, I do not know any one of them. If I knew these questions, how should I not have told you?'

6. Then Gautama went to the king's place, and when he had come to him, the king offered him proper respect. In the morning the king went out on his way to the assembly. The king said to him: 'Sir, Gautama, ask a boon of such things as men possess.' He replied: 'Such things as men possess may remain with you. Tell me the speech which you addressed to the boy.'

7. The king was perplexed, and commanded him, saying: 'Stay with me some time.' Then he said: 'As (to what) you have said to me, Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brahmana before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone. Then he began :

FOURTH KHANDA

1. 'The altar (on which the sacrifice is supposed to be offered) is that world (heaven), O Gautama; its fuel is the sun itself, the smoke his rays, the light the day, the coals the moon, the sparks the stars.

2. 'On that altar the Devas (or pranas, represented by Agni, &c.) offer the sraddha libation (consisting of water). From that oblation rises Soma, the king (the moon).

FIFTH KHANDA

1. 'The altar is Parganya (the god of rain), O Gautama; its fuel is the air itself, the smoke the cloud, the light the lightning, the coals the thunderbolt, the sparks the thunderings.

2. 'On that altar the Devas offer Soma, the king (the moon), From that oblation rises rain.

SIXTH KHANDA

1. 'The altar is the earth, O Gautama; its fuel is the year itself, the smoke the ether, the light the night, the coals the quarters, the sparks the intermediate quarters.
2. 'On that altar the Devas (pranas) offer rain. From that oblation rises food (corn, &c.)

SEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'The altar is man, O Gautama; its fuel speech itself, the smoke its breath, the light the tongue, the coals the eye, the sparks the ear.
2. 'On that altar the Devas (pranas) offer food. From that oblation rises seed.

EIGHTH KHANDA

1. 'The altar is woman, O Gautama.
2. 'On that altar the Devas (pranas) offer seed. From that oblation rises the germ.

NINTH KHANDA

1. 'For this reason is water in the fifth oblation called Man. This germ, covered in the womb, having dwelt there ten months, or more or less, is born.
2. 'When born, he lives whatever the length of his life may be. When he has departed, his friends carry him, as appointed, to the fire (of the funeral pile) from whence he came, from whence he sprang.

TENTH KHANDA

1. 'Those who know this (even though they still be grihasthas, householders) and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities (the vanaprasthas, and of the parivragakas those who do not yet know the Highest Brahman) go to light (arkis), from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from the six months when the sun goes to the north to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human,—
2. 'He leads them to Brahman (the conditioned Brahman). This is the path of the Devas.
3. 'But they who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices,

works of public utility, and alms, they go to the smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from the dark half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south. But they do not reach the year.

4. 'From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether, from the ether to the moon. That is Soma, the king. Here they are loved (eaten) by the Devas, yes, the Devas love (eat) them.

5. 'Having dwelt there, till their (good) works are consumed, they return again that way as they came, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer, having become air, becomes smoke, having become smoke, he becomes mist.

6. 'Having become mist, he becomes a cloud, having become a cloud, he rains down. Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. From thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. For whoever the persons may be that eat the food, and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like unto them.

7. 'Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brahmana, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or a Kandala.

8. 'On neither of these two ways those small creatures (flies, worms, &c.) are continually returning of whom it may be said, Live and die. Theirs is a third place.

'Therefore that world never becomes full (cf. V, 3, 2).

'Hence let a man take care of himself! And thus it is said in the following Sloka:—

9. 'A man who steals gold, who drinks spirits, who dishonours his Guru's bed, who kills a Brahman, these four fall, and a fifth he who associates with them.

10. 'But he who thus knows the five fires is not defiled by sin even though he associates with them. He who knows this, is pure, clean and obtains the world of the blessed, yea, he obtains the world of the blessed.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA

1. Prakinasala Aupamanyava, Satyayagna Paulushi, Indradyumna Bhallaveya, Gana Sarkarakshya, and Budila Asvatarasvi, these five great householders and great theologians came once together and held a discussion as to What is our Self, and what is Brahman.

2. They reflected and said: 'Sirs, there is that Uddalaka Aruni, who knows at present that Self, called Vaisvanara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

3. But he reflected: 'Those great householders and great theologians will examine me, and I shall not be able to tell them all; therefore I shall recommend another teacher to them.'

4. He said to them: 'Sirs, Asvapati Kaikeya knows at present that Self, called Vaisvanara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

5. When they arrived (the king) ordered proper presents to be made separately to each of them. And arising the next morning he said: 'In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress. I am going to perform a sacrifice, Sirs, and as much wealth as I give to each Ritvig priest, I shall give to you, Sirs. Please to stay here.'

6. They replied: 'Every man ought to say for what purpose he comes. You know at present that Vaisvanara Self, tell us that.'

7. He said: 'To-morrow I shall give you an answer.' Therefore on the next morning they approached him, carrying fuel in their hands (like students), and he, without first demanding any preparatory rites, said to them:

TWELFTH KHANDA

1. 'Aupamanyava, of whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'Heaven only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is Vaisvanara Self, called Sutegas (having good light). Therefore every kind of Soma libation is seen in your house.'

2. 'You eat food, and see your desire (a son, &c.), and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food, sees his desire, and has Vedic glory (arising from study and sacrifice) in his house. That, however, is but the head of the Self, and thus your head would have fallen (in a discussion), if you had not come to me.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to Satyayagna Paulushi: 'O Prakinayagya, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'The sun only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvanara Self, called Visvarupa (multiform). Therefore much and manifold wealth is seen in your house.'

2. 'There is a car with mules, full of slaves and jewels. You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the eye of the Self, and you would have become blind, if you had not come to me.'

FOURTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to Indradyumna Bhallaveya: 'O Vaiyaghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self? He replied: 'Air only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvanara Self, called Prithagvartman (having various courses). Therefore offerings come to you in various ways, and rows of cars follow you in various ways.

2. 'You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but breath of the Self, and your breath would have left you, if you had not come to me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to Gana Sarkarakshya: 'Whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'Ether only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvanara Self, called Bahula (full). Therefore you are full of offspring and wealth.

2. 'You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the trunk of the Self, and your trunk would have perished, if you had not come to me.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to Budila Asvatarasvi, 'O Vaiyaghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'Water only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvanara Self, called Rayi (wealth). Therefore are you wealthy and flourishing.

2. 'You eat and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the bladder of the Self, and your bladder

would have burst, if you had not come to me.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to Auddalaka Aruni: 'O Gautama, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'The earth only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvanara Self, called Pratishtha (firm rest). Therefore you stand firm with offspring and cattle.

2. 'You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvanara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, are but the feet of the Self, and your feet would have given away, if you had not come to me.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA

1. Then he said to them all: 'You eat your food, knowing that Vaisvanara Self as if it were many. But he who worships the Vaisvanara Self as a span long, and as identical with himself, he eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.

2. 'Of that Vaisvanara Self the head is Sutegas (having good light), the eye Visvarupa (multiform), the breath Prithagavartman (having various courses), the trunk Bahula (full), the bladder Rayi (wealth), the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the Garhapatya fire, the mind the Anvaharya fire the mouth the Ahavaniya fire.

NINETEENTH KHANDA

1. 'Therefore the first food which a man may take, is in the place of Homa. And he who offers that first oblation, should offer it to Prana (up-breathing), saying Svaha. Then Prana (up-breathing) is satisfied,

2. 'If Prana is satisfied, the eye is satisfied, if the eye is satisfied, the sun is satisfied, if the sun is satisfied, heaven is satisfied, if heaven is satisfied, whatever is under heaven and under the sun is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, wealth, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTIETH KHANDA

1. And he who offers the second oblation, should offer it to Vyana (back-breathing), saying Svaha. Then Vyana is satisfied.

2. 'If Vyana is satisfied, the ear is satisfied, if the ear is satisfied, the moon is satisfied, if the moon is satisfied, the quarters are satisfied, if the quarters are satisfied, whatever is under the quarters and under the moon is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA

1. 'And he who offers the third oblation, should offer it to Apana (down-breathing), saying Svaha. Then Apana is satisfied. If Apana is satisfied, the tongue is satisfied, if the tongue is satisfied, Agni (fire) is satisfied, if Agni is satisfied, the earth is satisfied, if the earth is satisfied, whatever is under the earth and under fire is satisfied.

2. 'And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA

1. 'And he who offers the fourth oblation, should offer it to Samana (on-breathing), saying Svaha. Then Samana is satisfied.

2. 'If Samana is satisfied, the mind is satisfied, if the mind is satisfied, Parganya (god of rain) is satisfied, if Parganya is satisfied, lightning is satisfied, if lightning is satisfied, whatever is under Parganya and under lightning is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA

1. 'And he who offers the fifth oblation, should offer it to Udana (out-breathing), saying Svaha. Then Udana is satisfied.

2. 'If Udana is satisfied, Vayu (air) is satisfied, if Vayu is satisfied, ether is satisfied, if ether is satisfied, whatever is under Vayu and under the ether is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA

1. 'If, without knowing this, one offers an Agnihotra, it would be as if a man were to remove live coals and pour his libation on dead ashes.

2. 'But he who offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport, he offers it (i. e. he eats food) in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selfs.

3. 'As the soft fibres of the Ishika reed, when thrown into the fire, are burnt, thus all his sins are burnt whoever offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport.

4. 'Even if he gives what is left of his food to a Kandala, it would be offered in his (the Kandala's) Vaisvanara Self. And so it is said in this Sloka:—

'As hungry children here on earth sit (expectantly) round their mother, so do all beings sit round the Agnihotra, yea, round the Agnihotra.'

SIXTH PRAPATHAKA

FIRST KHANDA

1. Harih, Om. There lived once Svetaketu Aruneya (the grandson of Aruna). To him his father (Uddalaka, the son of Aruna) said: 'Svetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who, not having studied (the Veda), is, as it were, a Brahmana by birth only.'

2. Having begun his apprenticeship (with a teacher) when he was twelve years of age, Svetaketu returned to his father, when he was twenty-four, having then studied all the Vedas,—conceited, considering himself well-read, and stern.

3. His father said to him: 'Svetaketu, as you are so conceited, considering yourself so well-read, and so stern, my dear, have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known?'

4. 'What is the instruction, Sir?' he asked.

The father replied: 'My dear, as by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is clay;

5. 'And as, my dear, by one nugget of gold all that is made of gold is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is gold?

6. 'And as, my dear, by one pair of nail-scissors all that is made of iron (karshnayasam) is known, the difference being only a name,

arising from speech, but the truth being that all is iron,—thus, my dear, is that instruction.

7. The son said: 'Surely those venerable men (my teachers) did not know that. For if they had known it, why should they not have told it me? Do you, Sir, therefore tell me that.' 'Be it so,' said the father.

SECOND KHANDA

1. 'In the beginning,' my dear, 'there was that only which is (Being), one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not (not-Being), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.

2. 'But how could it be thus, my dear?' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.

3. 'It thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire.

'That fire thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth water.

'And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone.

4. 'Water thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth earth (food).

'Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone eatable food is produced.

THIRD KHANDA

1. 'Of all living things there are indeed three origins only, that which spring from an egg (oviparous), that which springs from a living being (viviparous), and that which springs from a germ.

2. 'That Being (i. e. that which had produced fire, water and earth) thought, let me now enter those three beings (fire, water, earth) with this living Self (giva atma), and let me then reveal (develop) names and forms.

3. 'Then that Being having said, Let me make each of these three tripartite (so that fire, water, and earth should each have itself for its principal ingredient, besides an admixture of the other two) entered into those three beings (devata) with this living self only, and revealed names and forms.

4. 'He made each of these tripartite; and how these three beings

become each of them tripartite, that learn from me now, my friend!

FOURTH KHANDA

1. 'The red colour of burning fire (agni) is the colour of fire, the white colour of fire is the colour of water, the black colour of fire is the colour of earth. Thus vanishes what we call fire, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true (satya) are the three colours (or forms).

2. 'The red colour of the sun (aditya) is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the sun, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

3. 'The red colour of the moon is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the moon, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

4. 'The red colour of the lightning is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the lightning, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

5. 'Great householders and great theologians of olden times who knew this, have declared the same, saying, "No one can henceforth mention to us anything which we have not heard, perceived, or known." Out of these (three colours or forms) they knew all.

6. 'Whatever they thought looked red, they knew was the colour of fire. Whatever they thought looked white, they knew was the colour of water. Whatever they thought looked black, they knew was the colour of earth.

7. 'Whatever they thought was altogether unknown, they knew was some combination of those three beings (devata).

'Now learn from me, my friend, how those three beings, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite .

FIFTH KHANDA

1. 'The earth (food) when eaten becomes three-fold; its grossest portion becomes feces, its middle portion flesh, its subtlest portion mind.

2. 'Water when drunk becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes water, its middle portion blood, its subtlest portion breath.

3. 'Fire (i. e. in oil, butter, &c.) when eaten becomes threefold,

its grossest portion becomes bone, its middle portion marrow, its subtilest portion speech.

4. 'For truly, my child, mind comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTH KHANDA

1. 'That which is the subtile portion of curds, when churned, rises upwards, and becomes butter.

2. 'In the same manner, my child, the subtile portion of earth (food), when eaten, rises upwards, and becomes mind.

3. 'That which is the subtile portion of water, when drunk, rises upwards, and becomes breath.

4. 'That which is the subtile portion of fire, when consumed, rises upwards, and becomes speech.

5. 'For mind, my child, comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'Man (purusha), my son, consists of sixteen parts. Abstain from food for fifteen days, but drink as much water as you like, for breath comes from water, and will not be cut off, if you drink water.'

2. Svetaketu abstained from food for fifteen days. Then he came to his father and said: 'What shall I say?' The father said: 'Repeat the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Saman* verses.' He replied: 'They do not occur to me, Sir.'

3. The father said to him: 'As of a great lighted fire one coal only of the size of a firefly may be left, which would not burn much more than this, (i. e. very little), thus, my dear son, one part only of the sixteen parts (of you) is left, and therefore with one part you do not remember the Vedas. Go and eat!

4. 'Then wilt thou understand me.' Then Svetaketu ate, and afterwards approached his father. And whatever his father asked him, he knew it all by heart. Then his father said to him:

5. 'As of a great lighted fire one coal of the size of a firefly, is left, may be made to blaze up again by putting grass upon it, and will thus burn more than this,

6. 'Thus, my dear son, there was one part of the sixteen parts left to you, and that, lighted up with food, burnt up, and by it you remember now the Vedas.' After that, he understood what his father meant when he said: 'Mind, my son, comes from food, breath from water, speech from fire.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it.

EIGHTH KHANDA

1. Uddalaka Aruni said to his son Svetaketu: 'Learn from me the true nature of sleep (svapna). When a man sleeps here, then, my dear son, he becomes united with the True, he is gone to his own (Self). Therefore they say, svapiti, he sleeps, because he is gone (apit) to his own (sva).

2. 'As a bird when tied by a string flies first in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down at last on the very place where it is fastened, exactly in the same manner, my son, that mind (the giva, or living Self in the mind, see VI, 3, 2), after flying in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down on breath; for indeed, my son, mind is fastened to breath.

3. 'Learn from me, my son, what are hunger and thirst. When a man is thus said to be hungry, water is carrying away (digests) what has been eaten by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (go-naya), a man-leader (purusha-naya), so they call water (which digests food and causes hunger) food leader (asa-naya). Thus (by food digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth, for this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

4. 'And where could its root be except in food (earth)? And in the same manner, my son, as food (earth) too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. water. And as water too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. And as fire too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, my son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

5. 'When a man is thus said to be thirsty, fire carries away what has been drunk by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (go-naya), of a horse-leader (asva-naya), of a man-leader (urusha-naya), so they call fire udanya, thirst, i. e. water-leader, Thus (by water digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth; this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

6. 'And where could its root be except in water? As water is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. As fire is an offshoot, seek after

its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, O son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

'And how these three beings (devata), fire, water, earth, O son, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite, has been said before (VI, 4, 7). When a man departs for hence, his speech is merged in his mind, his mind in his breath, his breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being.

7. 'Now that which is that subtile essence (the root of all), in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

NINTH KHANDA

1. 'As the bees, my son, make honey by collecting the juices of distant trees, and reduce the juice into one form,

2. 'And as these juices have no discrimination, so that they might say, I am the juice of this tree or that, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have become merged in the True (either in deep sleep or in death), know not that thy are merged in the True.

3. 'Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a mosquito, that they become again and again.

4. 'Now that which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

TENTH KHANDA

1. 'These rivers, my son, run, the eastern (like the Ganga) toward the east, the western (like the Sindhu) toward the west. They go from sea to sea (i. e. the clouds lift up the water from the sea to the sky, and send it back as rain to the sea). They become indeed sea. And those rivers, when they are in the sea, do not know, I am this or that river,

2. 'In the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have come back from the True, know not that they have come back from the True. Whatever these creatures are here, whether lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a mosquito, that they become again and again.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True, it is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

ELEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'If some one were to strike at the root of this large tree here, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its stem, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its top, it would bleed, but live. Per-
vaded by the living Self that tree stands firm, drinking in its nourishment and rejoicing;

2. 'But if the life (the living Self) leaves one of its branches, that branch withers; if it leaves a second, that branch withers; if it leaves a third, that branch withers. If it leaves the whole tree, the whole tree withers. In exactly the same manner, my son, know this.' Thus he spoke:

3. 'This (body) indeed withers and dies when the living Self has left it; the living Self dies not.

'That which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

TWELFTH KHANDA

1. 'Fetch me from thence a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree.'

'Here is one, Sir.'

'Break it.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'These seeds, almost infinitesimal.'

'Break one of them.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'Not anything, Sir.'

2. The father said: 'My son, that subtile essence which you do not perceive there, of that very essence this great Nyagrodha tree exists.

3. 'Believe it, my son. That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Place this salt in water, and then wait on me in the morning.'

The son did as he was commanded.

The father said to him: 'Bring me the salt, which you placed in the water last night.'

The son having looked for it, found it not, for, of course, it was melted.

2. The father said: 'Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?'

The son replied: 'It is salt.'

'Taste it from the middle. How is it?'

The son replied: 'It is salt.'

The father said: 'Throw it away and then wait on me.'

He did so; but salt exists for ever.

Then the father said: 'Here also, in this body, forsooth, you do not perceive the True (Sat), my son; but there indeed it is.'

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'As one might lead a person with his eyes covered away from the Gandharas, and leave him then in a place where there are no human beings; and as that person would turn towards the east, or the north, or the west, and shout. "I have been brought here with my eyes covered, I have been left here with my eyes covered."

2. 'And as thereupon someone might loose his bandage and say to him. "Go in that direction, it is Gandhara, go in that direction," and as thereupon, having been informed and being able to judge for himself, he would by asking his way from village to village arrive at last at Gandhara,—in exactly the same manner does man, who meets with a teacher to inform him, obtain the true knowledge. For him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'If a man is ill, his relatives assemble round him and ask: "Dost thou know me? Dost thou know me?" Now as long as his speech is not merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being (devata), he knows them.

2. 'But when his speech is merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being, then he knows them not.

'That which is the subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'My child, they bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: "He has taken something, he has committed a theft." (When he denies, they say), "Heat the hatchet for him." If he committed the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is not. Then the false-minded, having covered his true Self by a falsehood, grasps the heated hatchet—he is burnt, and he is killed.

2. 'But if he did not commit the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is. Then the true-minded, having covered his true Self by truth, grasps the heated hatchet—he is not burnt, and he is delivered.

'As that (truthful) man is not burnt, thus has all that exists its self in That. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it.

SEVENTH PRAPATHAKA

FIRST KHANDA

1. Narada approached Sanatkumara and said, 'Teach me, Sir!' Sanatkumara said to him: 'Please to tell me what you know; afterward I shall tell you what is beyond.'

2. Narada said: 'I know the Rig-veda, Sir, the Yagur-veda, the Sama-veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa-purana (the Bharata); the Veda of the Vedas (grammar); the Pitrya

(the rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors); the Rasi (the science of numbers); the Daiva (the science of portents); the Nidhi (the science of time); the Vakovakya (logic); the Ekayana (ethics); the Devavidya (etymology); the Brahma-vidya (pronunciation, siksha, ceremonial, kalpa, prosody, khandas); the Bhuta-vidya (the science of demons); the Kshatra-vidya (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra-vidya (astronomy); the Sarpa and Devagana-vidya (the science of serpents or poisons, and the sciences of genii, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing, and other fine arts). All this I know, Sir.

3. 'But, Sir, with all this I know the Mantras only, the sacred books, I do not know the Self. I have heard from men like you, that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine.'

Sanatkumara said to him: 'Whatever you have read, is only a name.

4. 'A name is the Rig-veda, Yagur-veda, Sama-veda, and as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa-purana, the Veda of the Vedas, the Pitrya, the Rasi, the Daiva, the Nidhi, the Vakovakya, the Ekayana, the Deva-vidya, the Brahma-vidya, the Bhuta-vidya, the Kshatra-vidya, the Nakshatra-vidya, the Sarpa and Devagana-vidya. All these are a name only. Meditate on the name.

5. 'He who meditates on the name as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as the name reaches—he who meditates on the name as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than a name?'

'Yes, there is something better than a name.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SECOND KHANDA

1. 'Speech is better than a name. Speech makes us understand the Rig-veda, Yagur-veda, Sama-veda, and as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa-purana, the Veda of the Vedas, the Pitrya, the Rasi, the Daiva, the Nidhi, the Vakovakya, the Ekayana, the Deva-vidya, the Brahma-vidya, the Kshatra-vidya, the Nakshatra-vidya, the Sarpa and Devagana-vidya; heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing. For if there were no speech, neither he

nor wrong would be known, neither the true nor the false, neither the good nor the bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant. Speech makes us understand all this. Meditate on speech.

2. 'He who meditates on speech as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as speech reaches—he who meditates on speech as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than speech?'

'Yes, there is something better than speech.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

THIRD KHANDA

1. 'Mind (manas) is better than speech. For as the closed fist holds two amalaka or two kola or two aksha fruits, thus does mind hold speech and name. For if a man is minded in his mind to read the sacred hymns, he reads them; if he is minded in his mind to perform any actions, he performs them; if he is minded to wish for sons and cattle, he wishes for them. For mind is indeed the self, mind is the world, he wishes for them. For mind is indeed the self, mind is the world, mind is Brahman. Meditate on the mind.

2. 'He who meditates on the mind as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as the mind reaches—he who meditates on the mind as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than mind?'

'Yes, there is something better than mind.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FOURTH KHANDA

1. 'Will (sankalpa) is better than mind. For when a man wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these therefore (beginning with mind and ending in sacrifice) centre in will, consist of will, abide in will. Heaven and earth willed, air and ether willed, water and fire willed. Through the will of heaven and earth &c. rain wills; through the will of rain food wills; through the will of food the vital airs will; through the will of the vital airs the sacred hymns will; through the will of the sacred hymns the sacrifices will; through the will of the sacrifices the world (as their reward) wills; through the will of the world everything wills. This is will. Meditate on will.

3. 'He who meditates on will as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he has willed; he is as it were, lord and master as far as will reaches—he who meditates on will as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than will?'

'Yes, there is something better than will.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTH KHANDA

1. 'Consideration (kitta) is better than will. For when a man considers, then he wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these (beginning with mind and ending in sacrifice) centre in consideration, consist of consideration, abide in consideration. Therefore if a man is inconsiderate, even if he possesses much learning, people say to him, he is nothing, whatever he may know; for, if he were learned, he would not be so inconsiderate. But a man is considerate, even though he knows but little, to him indeed do people listen gladly. Consideration is the centre, consideration is the self, consideration is the support of all these. Meditate on consideration.

3. 'He who meditates on consideration as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he considered; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as consideration reaches—he who meditates on consideration as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than consideration?'

'Yes, there is something better than consideration.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SIXTH KHANDA

1. 'Reflection (dhyana) is better than consideration. The earth reflects, as it were, and thus does the sky, the heaven, the water, the mountains, gods and men. Therefore those who among men obtain greatness here on earth, seem to have obtained a part of the object of reflection (because they show a certain repose of manner). Thus while small and vulgar people are always quarrelling, abusive, and slandering, great men seem to have obtained a part of the reward of reflection. Meditate on reflection.

2. 'He who meditates on reflection as Brahman, is lord and

master, as it were, as far as reflection reaches—he who meditates on reflection as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than reflection?'

'Yes, there is something better than reflection.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'Understanding (vignana) is better than reflection. Through understanding we understand the Rig-veda, the Yagur-veda, the Sama-veda, and as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa-purana, the Veda of the Vedas, the Pitrya, the Rasi, the Daiva, the Nidhi, the Vakovakya, the Ekayana, the Deva-vidya, the Brahma-vidya, the Bhuta-vidya, the Kshatra-vidya, the Nakshatra-vidya, the Sarpa and Devagana-vidya, heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing; food and savour, this world and that, all this we understand through understanding. Meditate on understanding.

2. 'He who meditates on understanding as Brahman, reaches the worlds where there is understanding and knowledge; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as understanding reaches—he who meditates on understanding as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than understanding?'

'Yes, there is something better than understanding.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

EIGHT KHANDA

1. 'Power (bala) is better than understanding. One powerful man shakes a hundred men of understanding. If a man is powerful, he becomes a rising man. If he rises, he becomes a man who visits wise people. If he visits, he becomes a follower of wise people. If he follows them, he becomes a seeing, a hearing, a perceiving, a knowing, a doing and understanding man. By power the earth stands firm, and the sky, and the heaven, and the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; by power the world stands firm. Meditate on power.

2. 'He who meditates on power as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as power reaches—he who meditates on power as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than power?'

'Yes, there is something better than power.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

NINTH KHANDA

1. 'Food (anna) is better than power. Therefore if a man abstain from food for ten days, though he live, he would be unable to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. But when he obtains food, he is able to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. Meditate on food.

2. 'He who meditates on food as Brahman, obtains the worlds rich in food and drink; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as food reaches—he who meditates on food as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than food?'

'Yes, there is something better than food.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TENTH KHANDA

1. 'Water (ap) is better than food. Therefore if there is not sufficient rain, the vital spirits fail from fear that there will be less food. But if there is sufficient rain, the vital spirits rejoice, because there will be much food. This water, on assuming different forms, becomes this earth, this sky, this heaven, the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs and trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants. Water indeed assumes all these forms. Meditate on water.

2. 'He who meditates on water as Brahman, obtains all wishes, he becomes satisfied; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as water reaches—he who meditates on water as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than water?'

'Yes, there is something better than water.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA

1. 'Fire (tegas) is better than water. For fire united with air, warms the ether. Then people say, It is hot, it burns, it will rain. Thus does fire, after showing this sign (itself) first, create water. And thus again thunderclaps come with lightnings, flashing upwards and across the sky. Then people say, There is lightning and thunder, it will rain. Then also does fire, after showing this sign first, create water. Meditate on fire.

2. 'He who meditates on fire as Brahman, obtains, resplendent himself, resplendent worlds, full of light and free of darkness; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as fire reaches—he who meditates on fire as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than fire?'

'Yes, there is something better than fire.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TWELFTH KHANDA

1. 'Ether (or space) is better than fire. For in the ether exist both sun and moon, the lightning, stars, and fire (agni). Through the ether we call, through the ether we hear, through the ether we answer. In the ether or space we rejoice (when we are together), and rejoice not (when we are separated). In the ether everything is born, and towards the ether everything tends when it is born. Meditate on ether.'

2. 'He who meditates on ether as Brahman, obtains the worlds of ether and of light, which are free from pressure and pain, wide and spacious; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as ether reaches—he who meditates on ether as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than ether?'

'Yes, there is something better than ether.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'Memory (smara) is better than ether. Therefore where many are assembled together, if they have no memory, they would hear no one, they would not perceive, they would not understand. Through memory we know our sons, through memory our cattle. Meditate on memory.'

2. 'He who meditates on memory as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as memory reaches—he who meditates on memory as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than memory?'

'Yes, there is something better than memory.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FOURTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'Hope (asa) is better than memory. Fired by hope does memory read the sacred hymns, perform sacrifices, desire sons and cattle, desire this world and the other. Meditate on hope.'

2. 'He who meditates on hope as Brahman, all his desires are fulfilled by hope, his prayers are not in vain; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as hope reaches—he who meditates on hope as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than hope?'

'Yes, there is something better than hope.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'Spirit (prana) is better than hope. As the spokes of a wheel hold to the nave, so does all this (beginning with names and ending in hope) hold to spirit. That spirit moves by the spirit, it gives spirit to the spirit. Father means spirit, mother is spirit, brother is spirit, sister is spirit, tutor is spirit, Brahmana is spirit.

2. 'For if one says anything unbecoming to a father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or Brahmana, then people say, Shame on thee! thou hast offended thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor, or a Brahmana.

3. 'But, if after the spirit has departed from them, one shoves them together with a poker, and burns them to pieces, no one would say, Thou offendest thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or a Brahmana.

4. 'Spirit then is all this. He who sees this, perceives this, and understands this, becomes an ativadin. If people say to such a man, Thou art an ativadin, he may say, I am an ativadin; he need not deny it.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'But in reality he is an ativadin who declares the Highest Being to be the True (Satva).'

'Sir, may I become an ativadin by the True?'

'But we must desire to know the True.'

'Sir, I desire to know the True.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'When one understands the True, then one declares the True. One who does not understand it, does not declare the True. Only he who understands it, declares the True. This understanding, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA

1. 'When one perceives, then one understands. One who does not perceive, does not understand. Only he who perceives, understands. This perception, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

NINETEENTH KHANDA

1. 'When one believes, then one perceives. One who does not believe, does not perceive. Only he who believes, perceives. This belief, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTIETH KHANDA

1. 'When one attends on a tutor (spiritual guide), then one believes. One who does not attend on a tutor, does not believe. Only he who attends, believes. This attention on a tutor, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA

1. 'When one performs sacred duties, then one attends really on a tutor. One who does not perform his duties, does not really attend on a tutor. Only he who performs his duties, attends on his tutor. This performance of duties, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA

1. 'When one obtains bliss (in oneself), then one performs duties. One who does not obtain bliss, does not perform duties. Only he who obtains bliss, performs duties. This bliss, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA

1. 'The Infinite (bhuman) is bliss. There is no bliss in anything finite. Infinity only is bliss. This Infinity, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA

1. 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite. Where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is the finite. The Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal.'

'Sir, in what does the Infinite rest?'

'In its own greatness—or not even in greatness.'

2. 'In the world they call cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves, wives, fields and houses greatness. I do not mean this,' thus he spoke; 'for in that case one being (the possessor) rests in something else, (but the Infinite cannot rest in something different from itself).

TWENTY-FIFTH KHANDA

1. 'The Infinite indeed is below, above, behind, before, right and left—it is indeed all this.

'Now follows the explanation of the Infinite as the I: I am below, I am above, I am behind, before, right and left—I am all this.

2. 'Next follows the explanation of the Infinite as the Self: Self is below, above, behind, before, right and left—Self is all this.

'He who sees, perceives, and understands this, loves the Self, delights in the Self, revels in the Self, rejoices in the Self—he becomes a Svarag, (an autocrat or self-ruler); he is lord and master in all the worlds.

'But those who think differently from this, live in perishable worlds, and have other beings for their rulers.

TWENTY-SIXTH KHANDA

1. 'To him who sees, perceives, and understands this, the spirit (prana) springs from the Self, hope springs from the Self, memory springs from the Self, so do ether, fire, water, appearance and disappearance, food, power, understanding, reflection, consideration, will, mind, speech, names, sacred hymns, and sacrifices—aye, all this springs from the Self.

2. 'There is this verse, "He who sees this, does not see death, nor illness, nor pain; he who sees this, sees everything, and obtains everything everywhere.

'"He is one (before creation), he becomes three (fire, water, earth), he becomes five, he becomes seven, he becomes nine; then again he is called the eleventh, and hundred and ten and one thousand

'When the intellectual ailment has been purified, the whole nature becomes purified. When the whole nature has been purified, the memory becomes firm. And when the memory (of the Highest Self) remains firm, and then all the ties (which bind us to a belief in anything but the Self) are loosened.

'The venerable Sanatkumara showed to Narada, after his faults had been rubbed out, the other side of darkness. They call Sanatkumara Skanda, yea, Skanda they call him.'

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MUELLER.

LAWS OF MANU

CHAPTER I.

1. THE GREAT SAGES approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him, spoke as follows:

2. 'Deign, divine one, to declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (varna) and of the intermediate ones.

3. 'For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport, (i. e.) the rites, and the knowledge of the soul, (taught) in this whole ordinance of the Self-existent (Svayambhu), which is unknowable and unfathomable.'

4. He, whose power is measureless, being thus asked by the high-minded great sages, duly honoured them, and answered, 'Listen!'

5. This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

6. Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhu, himself) indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness.

7. He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will).

8. He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them.

9. That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born at Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.

10. The waters are called narah, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his first residence (ayana), he thence is named Narayana.

11. From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, was produced that male (Purusha), who is famed in this world (under the appellation of) Brahman.

12. The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves;

13. And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.

14. From himself (atmanah) he also drew forth the mind, which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism, which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and is) lordly;

15. Moreover, the great one, the soul, and all (products) affected by the three qualities, and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation.

16. But, joining minute particles even of those six, which possess measureless power, with particles of himself, he created all beings.

17. Because those six (kinds of) minute particles, which form the (creator's) frame, enter (a-sri) these (creatures), therefore the wise call his frame sartra, (the body.)

18. That the great elements enter, together with their functions and the mind, through its minute parts the framer of all beings, the imperishable one.

19. But from minute body(-framing) particles of these seven very powerful Purushas springs this (world), the perishable from the imperishable.

20. Among them each succeeding (element) acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess.

21. But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the

words of the Veda.

22. He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtle class of the Sadhyas, and the eternal sacrifice.

23. But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the three-fold, eternal Veda, called Rik, Yagus, and Saman, for the due performance of the sacrifice.

24. Time and the divisions of time, the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground,

25. Austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence.

26. Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the pairs (of opposites), such as pain and pleasure.

27. But with the minute perishable particles of the five (elements) which have been mentioned, this whole (world) is framed in due order.

28. But to whatever course of action the Lord at first appointed each (kind of beings), that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation.

29. Whatever he assigned to each at the (first) creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung (afterwards) spontaneously to it.

30. As at the change of the seasons each season of its own accord assumes its distinctive marks, even so corporeal beings (resume in new births) their (appointed) course of action.

31. But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.

32. Dividing his own body, the Lord became half male and half female; with that (female) he produced Virag.

33. But know me, O most holy among the twice-born, to be the creator of this whole (world), whom that male, Virag, himself produced, having performed austerities.

34. Then I, desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and (thereby) called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings,

35. Mariki, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Praketas,

Vasishtha, Bhṛigu, and Narada.

36. They created seven other Manus possessing great brilliancy, gods and classes of gods and great sages of measureless power,

37. Yakshas (the servants of Kubera, the demons called) Rakshasas and Pisakas, Gandharvas (or musicians of the gods), Apsarases (the dancers of the gods), Asuras, (the snake-deities called) Nagas and Sarpas, (the bird-deities called) Suparnas and the several classes of the manes,

38. Lightnings, thunderbolts and clouds, imperfect (rohita) and perfect rainbows, falling meteors, supernatural noises, comets, and heavenly lights of many kinds,

39. (Horse-faced) Kinnaras, monkeys, fishes, birds of many kinds, cattle, deer, men, and carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth,

40. Small and large worms and beetles, moths, lice, flies, bugs, all stinging and biting insects and the several kinds of immovable things.

41. Thus was this whole (creation), both the immovable and the movable, produced by these high minded ones by means of austerities and at my command, (each being) according to (the results of) its actions.

42. But whatever act is stated (to belong) to (each of) those creatures here below, that I will truly declare to you, as well as their order in respect to birth.

43. Cattle, deer, carnivorous beasts with two rows of teeth, Rakshasas, Pisakas, and men are born from the womb.

44. From eggs are born birds, snakes, crocodiles, fishes, tortoises, as well as similar terrestrial and aquatic (animals).

45. From hot moisture spring stinging and biting insects, lice, flies, bugs, and all other (creatures) of that kind which are produced by heat.

46. All plants, propagated by seed or by slips grow from shoots; annual plants (are those) which, bearing many flowers and fruits, perish after the ripening of their fruit;

47. (Those trees) which bear fruit without flowers are called vanaspati (lords of the forest); but those which bear both flowers and fruit are called vriksha.

48. But the various plants with many stalks, growing from one or several roots, the different kinds of grasses, the climbing plants and the creepers spring all from seed or from slips.

49. These (plants) which are surrounded by multiform Dark-

ness, the result of their acts (in former existences), possess internal consciousness and experience pleasure and pain.

50. The (various) conditions in this always terrible and constantly changing circle of births and deaths to which created beings are subject, are stated to begin with (that of) Brahman, and to end with (that of) these (just mentioned immovable creatures).

51. When he whose power is incomprehensible, had thus produced the universe and me, he disappeared in himself, repeatedly suppressing one period by means of the other.

52. When that divine one wakes, then this world stirs; when he slumbers tranquilly, then the universe sinks to sleep.

53. But when he reposes in calm sleep, the corporeal beings whose nature is action, desist from their actions and mind becomes inert.

54. When they are absorbed all at once in that great soul, then he who is the soul of all beings sweetly slumbers, free from all care and occupation.

55. When this (soul) has entered darkness, it remains for a long time united with the organs (of sensation), but performs not its functions; it then leaves the corporeal frame.

56. When, being clothed with minute particles (only), it enters into vegetable or animal seed, it then assumes, united (with the fine body), a (new) corporeal frame.

57. Thus he, the imperishable one, by (alternately) waking and slumbering, incessantly revivifies and destroys this whole movable and immovable (creation).

58. But he having composed these Institutes (of the sacred law), himself taught them, according to the rule, to me along in the beginning; next I (taught them) to Mariki and the other sages.

59. Bhrigu, here, will fully recite to you these Institutes; for that sage learned the whole in its entirety from me.

60. Then that great sage Bhrigu, being thus addressed by Manu, spoke, pleased in his heart, to all the sages, 'Listen!'

61. Six other high-minded, very powerful Manus, who belong to the race of this Manu, the descendant of the Self-existent (Svayambhu), and who have severally produced created beings,

62. (Are) Svarokisha, Auttami, Tamasa, Raivata, Kakshusha, possessing great lustre, and the son of Vivasvat.

63. These seven very glorious Manus, the first among whom is Svayambhuva, produced and protected this whole movable and in-

movable (creation), each during the period (allotted to him).

64. Eighteen nimeshas (twinkling of the eye, are one kashtha), thirty kashthas one kala, thirty kalas one muhurta, and as many (muhurtas) one day and night.

65. The sun divides days and nights, both human and divine, the night (being intended) for the repose of created beings and the day for exertion.

66. A month is a day and a night of the manes, but the division is according to the fortnights. The dark (fortnight) is their day for active exertion, the bright (fortnight) their night for sleep.

67. A year is a day and a night of the gods; their division is (as follows): the half year during which the sun progresses to the north will be the day, that during which it goes southwards the night.

68. But hear now the brief (description of) the duration of a night and a day of Brahman and of the several ages (of the world, yuga) according to their order.

69. They declare that the Krita age (consists of) four thousand years (of the gods); the twilight preceding it consists of as many hundreds, and the twilight following it of the same number.

70. In the other three ages with their twilights preceding and following, the thousands and hundreds are diminished by one (in each).

71. These twelve thousand (years) which thus have been just mentioned as the total of four (human) ages, are called one age of the gods.

72. But know that the sum of one thousand ages of the gods (makes) one day of Brahman, and that his night has the same length.

73. Those (only, who) know that the holy day of Brahman, indeed, ends after (the completion of) one thousand ages (of the gods) and that his night lasts as long, (are really) men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.

74. At the end of that day and night he who was asleep, awakes and, after awaking, creates mind, which is both real and unreal.

75. Mind, impelled by (Brahman's) desire to create, performs the work of creation by modifying itself, thence ether is produced; they declare that sound is the quality of the latter.

76. But from ether, modifying itself, springs the pure, powerful wind, the vehicle of all perfumes; that is held to possess the quality of touch.

77. Next from wind, modifying itself, proceeds the brilliant light,

which illuminates and dispels darkness; that is declared to possess the quality of colour;

78. And from light, modifying itself, (is produced) water, possessing the quality of taste, from water earth which has the quality of smell; such is the creation in the beginning.

79. The before-mentioned age of the gods, (or) twelve thousand (of their years), being multiplied by seventy-one, (constitutes what) is here named the period of a Manu (Manvantara).

80. The Manvantaras, the creations and destructions (of the world, are) numberless; sporting, as it were, Brahman repeats this again and again.

81. In the Krita age Dharma is four-footed and entire, and (so is) Truth; nor does any gain accrue to men by unrighteousness.

82. In the other (three ages), by reason of (unjust) gains (agama), Dharma is deprived successively of one foot, and through (the prevalence of) theft, falsehood, and fraud the merit (gained by men) is diminished by one fourth (in each).

83. (Men are) free from disease, accomplish all their aims, and live four hundred years in the Krita age, but in the Treta and (in each of) the succeeding (ages) their life is lessened by one quarter.

84. The life of mortals, mentioned in the Veda, the desired results of sacrificial rites and the (supernatural) power of embodied (spirits) are fruits proportioned among men according to (the character of) the age.

85. One set of duties (is prescribed) for men in the Krita age, different ones in the Treta and in the Dvapara, and (again) another (set) in the Kali, in proportion as (those) ages decrease in length.

86. In the Krita age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities, in the Treta (divine) knowledge, in the Dvapara (the performance of) sacrifices, in the Kali liberality alone.

87. But in order to protect this universe He, the most resplendent one, assigned separate (duties and) occupations to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs, and feet.

88. To Brahmanas he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms).

89. The Kshatriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures;

90. The Vaisya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices,

to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land.

91. One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Sudra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

92. Man is stated to be purer above the navel (than below); hence the Self-existent (Svayambhu) has declared the purest (part) of him (to be) his mouth.

93. As the Brahmana sprang from Brahman's mouth, as he was the first-born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation.

94. For the Self-existent (Svayambhu), having performed austerities, produced him first from his own mouth, in order that the offerings might be conveyed to the gods and manes and that this universe might be preserved.

95. What created being can surpass him, through whose mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes the offerings to the dead?

96. Of created beings the most excellent are said to be those which are animated; of the animated, those which subsist by intelligence; of the intelligent, mankind; and of men, the Brahmanas;

97. Of Brahmanas, those learned (in the Veda); of the learned, those who recognize (the necessity and the manner of performing the prescribed duties); of those who possess this knowledge, those who perform them; of the performers, those who know the Brahman.

98. The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to (fulfil) sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman.

99. A Brahmana, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created things, for the protection of the treasury of the law.

100. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is, indeed, entitled to it all.

101. The Brahmana eats but his own food, wears but his own apparel, bestows but his own in alms; other mortals subsist through the benevolence of the Brahmana.

102. In order to clearly settle his duties and those of the other (castes) according to their order, wise Manu sprung from the Self-existent, composed these Institutes (of the sacred law).

103. A learned Brahmana must carefully study them, and he must duly instruct his pupils in them, but nobody else (shall do it).

104. A Brahmana who studies these Institutes (and) faithfully fulfils the duties (prescribed therein), is never tainted by sins, arising from thoughts, words, or deeds.

105. He sanctifies any company (which he may enter), seven ancestors and seven descendants, and he alone deserves (to possess) this whole earth.

106. (To study) this (work) is the best means of securing welfare, it increases understanding, it procures fame and long life, it (leads to) supreme bliss.

CHAPTER X.

1. Let the three twice-born castes (varna), discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the Veda; but among them the Brahmana (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is an established rule.

2. The Brahmana must know the means of subsistence (prescribed) by law for all, instruct the others, and himself live according to (the law).

3. On account of his pre-eminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification the Brahmana is the lord of (all) castes (varna).

4. The Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (varna) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Sudra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste).

74. Brahmanas who are intent on the means (of gaining union with) Brahman and firm in (discharging) their duties, shall live by duly performing the following six acts, (which are enumerated) in their (proper) order.

75. Teaching, studying, sacrificing for himself, sacrificing for others, making gifts and receiving them are the six acts (prescribed) for a Brahmana.

76. But among the six acts (ordained) for him three are his means of subsistence, viz.) sacrificing for others, teaching, and accepting gifts from pure men.

77. (Passing) from the Brahmana to the Kshatriya, three acts (incumbent on the former) are forbidden, (viz.) teaching, sacrificing for others, and, thirdly, the acceptance of gifts.

78. The same are likewise forbidden to a Vaisya, that is a settled rule; for Manu, the lord of creatures (Pragapati), has not prescribed them for (men of) those two (castes).

79. To carry arms for striking and for throwing (is prescribed) for Kshatriyas as a means of subsistence; to trade, (to rear) cattle, and agriculture for Vaisyas; but their duties are liberality, the study of the Veda, and the performance of sacrifices.

80. Among the several occupations the most commendable are, teaching the Veda for a Brahmana, protecting (the people) for a Kshatriya, and trade for a Vaisya.

81. But a Brahmana, unable to subsist by his peculiar occupations just mentioned, may live according to the law applicable to Kshatriyas; for the latter is next to him in rank.

82. If it be asked, 'How shall it be, if he cannot maintain himself by either (of these occupations?) the answer is), he may adopt a Vaisya's mode of life, employing himself in agriculture and rearing cattle.

83. But a Brahmana, or a Kshatriya, living by a Vaisya's mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid (the pursuit of) agriculture, (which causes) injury to many beings and depends on others.

84. (Some) declare that agriculture is something excellent, (but) that means of subsistence is blamed by the virtuous; (for) the wooden (implement) with iron point injures the earth and (the beings) living in the earth.

85. But he who, through a want of means of subsistence, gives up the strictness with respect to his duties, may sell, in order to increase his wealth, the commodities sold by Vaisyas, making (however) the (following) exceptions.

86. He must avoid (selling) condiments of all sorts, cooked food and sesamum, stones, salt, cattle, and human (beings),

87. All dyed cloth, as well as cloth made of hemp, or flax, or wool, even though they be not dyed, fruit, roots, and (medical) herbs;

88. Water, weapons, poison, meat, Soma, and perfumes of all kinds, fresh milk, honey, sour milk, clarified butter, oil, wax, sugar, Kusa-grass;

89. All beasts of the forest, animals with fangs or tusks, birds, spirituous liquor, indigo, lac, and all one-hoofed beasts.

90. But he who subsists by agriculture, may at pleasure sell unmixed sesamum grains for sacred purposes, provided he himself has grown them and has not kept them long.

91. If he applies sesamum to any other purpose but food, anointing, and charitable gifts, he will be born (again) as a worm and, together with his ancestors, be plunged into the ordure of dogs.

92. By (selling) flesh, salt, and lac a Brahmana at once becomes an outcast; by selling milk he becomes (equal to) a Sudra in three days.

93. But by willingly selling in this world other (forbidden) commodities, a Brahmana assumes after seven nights the character of a Vaisya.

94. Condiments may be bartered for condiments, but by no means salt for (other) condiments; cook food (may be exchanged) for (other kinds of cooked food, and sesamuf seeds for grain in equal quantities.

95. A Kshatriya who has fallen into distress, may subsist by all these (means); but he must never arrogantly adopt the mode of life (prescribed for his) betters.

96. A man of low caste who through covetousness lives by the occupations of a higher one, the king shall deprive of his property and banish.

97. It is better (to discharge) one's own (appointed) duty incompletely than to perform completely that of another; for he who lives according to the law of another (caste) is instantly excluded from his own.

98. A Vaisya who is unable to subsist by his own duties, may even maintain himself by a Sudra's mode of life, avoiding (however) acts forbidden (to him), and he should give it up, when he is able (to do so).

99. But a Sudra, being unable to find service with the twice-born and threatened with the loss of his sons and wife (through hunger), may maintain himself by handicrafts.

100. (Let him follow) those mechanical occupations and those various practical arts by following which the twice-born are (best) served.

101. A Brahman who is distressed through a want of means of subsistence and pines (with hunger), (but) unwilling to adopt a Vaisya's mode of life and resolved to follow his own (prescribed) path, may act in the following manner.

102. A Brahmana who has fallen into distress may accept (gifts) from anybody; for according to the law it is not possible (to assert) that anything pure can be sullied.

103. By teaching, by sacrificing for, and by accepting gifts from despicable (men) Brahmanas (in distress) commit not sin; for they (are as pure) as fire and water.

104. He who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever, is no more tainted by sin than the sky by mud.

105. Agigarta, who suffered hunger, approached in order to slay (his own) son, and was not tainted by sin, since he (only) sought a remedy against famishing.

106. Vamadeva, who well knew right and wrong, did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger), he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life.

107. Bharadvaga, a performer of great austerities, accepted many cows from the carpenter Bribu, when he was starving together with his sons in a lonely forest.

108. Visvamitra, who well knew what is right or wrong, approached, when he was tormented by hunger, (to eat) the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Kandala.

109. On (comparing) the acceptance (of gifts from low men), sacrificing (for them), and teaching (them), the acceptance of gifts is the meanest (of those acts) and (most) reprehensible for a Brahmana (on account of its results) in the next life.

110. (For) assisting in sacrifices and teaching are (two acts) always performed for men who have received the sacraments; but the acceptance of gifts takes place even in (case the giver is) a Sudra of the lowest class.

111. The guilt incurred by offering sacrifices for teaching (unworthy men) is removed by muttering (sacred texts) and by burnt offerings, but that incurred by accepting gifts (from them) by throwing (the gifts) away and by austerities.

112. A Brahmana who is unable to maintain himself, should (rather) glean ears or grains from (the field of) any (man); gleaning ears is better than accepting gifts, picking up single grains is declared to be still more laudable.

113. If Brahmanas, who are Snatakas, are pining with hunger, or in want of (utensils made of) common metals, or of other property, they may ask the king for them; if he is not disposed to be liberal, he must be left.

114. (The acceptance of) an untilled field is less blamable than (that of) a tilled one; (with respect to) cows, goats, sheep, gold, grain, and cooked food, (the acceptance of) each earlier-named (article is less blamable than of the following ones).

115. There are seven lawful modes of acquiring property, (viz.)

inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous men.

116. Learning, mechanical arts, work for wages, service, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little), alms, and receiving interest on money, are the ten modes of subsistence (permitted to all men in times of distress).

117. Neither a Brahmana, nor a Kshatriya must lend (money at) interest; but at his pleasure (either of them) may, in times of distress (when he requires money) for sacred purposes, lend to a very sinful man at a small interest.

118. A Kshatriya (king) who, in times of distress, takes even the fourth part (of the crops), is free from guilt, if he protects his subjects to the best of his ability.

119. His peculiar duty is conquest, and he must not turn back in danger; having protected the Vaisyas by his weapons, he may cause the legal tax to be collected;

120. (Viz.) from Vaisyas one-eighth as the tax on grain, one-twentieth (on the profits on gold and cattle), which amount at least to one Karshapana; Sudras, artisans, and mechanics (shall) benefit (the king) by (doing) work (for him).

121. If a Sudra, (unable to subsist by serving Brahmanas,) seeks a livelihood, he may serve Kshatriyas, or he may also seek to maintain himself by attending on a wealthy Vaisya.

122. But let a (Sudra) serve Brahmanas, either for the sake of heaven, or with a view to both (this life and the next); for he who is called the servant of a Brahmana thereby gains all his ends.

123. The service of Brahmanas alone is declared (to be) an excellent occupation for a Sudra; for whatever else besides this he may perform will bear him no fruit.

124. They must allot to him out of their own family(-property) a suitable maintenance, after considering his ability, his industry, and the number of those whom he is bound to support.

125. The remnants of their food must be given to him, as well as their old clothes, the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

126. A Sudra cannot commit an offense, causing loss of caste (pataka), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfil) the sacred law (of the Aryans, yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.

127. (Sudras) who are desirous to gain merit, and know (their) duty, commit no sin, but gain praise, if they imitate the practice of virtuous men without reciting sacred texts.

128. The more a (Sudra), keeping himself free from envy, imitates the behaviour of the virtuous, the more he gains, without being censured, (exaltation in) this world and the next.

129. No collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he be able (to do it); for a Sudra who has acquired wealth, gives pain to Brahmanas.

130. The duties of the four castes (varna) in times of distress have thus been declared, and if they perform them well, they will reach the most blessed state.

131. Thus all the legal rules for the four castes have been proclaimed; I next will promulgate the auspicious rules for penances.

CHAPTER XII.

1. 'O sinless One, the whole sacred law, (applicable) to the four castes, has been declared by thee; communicate to us (now), according to the truth, the ultimate retribution for (their) deeds.'

2. To the great sages (who addressed him thus) righteous Bhrigu, sprung from Manu, answered, 'Hear the decision concerning this whole connexion with actions.'

3. Action, which springs from the mind, from speech, and from the body, produces either good or evil results; by action are caused the (various) conditions of men, the highest, the middling, and the lowest.

4. Know that the mind is the instigator here below, even to that (action) which is connected with the body, (and) which is of three kinds, has three locations, and falls under ten heads.

5. Covering the property of others, thinking in one's heart of what is undesirable, and adherence to false (doctrines), are the three kinds of (sinful) mental action.

6. Abusing (others, speaking) untruth, detracting from the merits of all men, and talking idly, shall be the four kinds of (evil) verbal action.

7. Taking what has not been given, injuring (creatures) without the sanction of the law, and holding criminal intercourse with another man's wife, are declared to be the three kinds of (wicked) bodily action.

8. (A man) obtains (the result of) a good or evil mental (act)

in his mind, (that of) a verbal (act) in his speech, (that of) a bodily (act) in his body.

9. In consequence of (many) sinful acts committed with his body, a man becomes (in the next birth) something inanimate, in consequence (or sins) committed by speech, a bird, or a beast, and in consequence of mental (sins he is re-born in) a low caste.

10. That man is called a (true) tridandin in whose mind these three, the control over his speech (vagdanda), the control over his thoughts (manodanda), and the control over his body (kayadanda), are firmly fixed.

11. That man who keeps this threefold control (over himself) with respect to all created beings and wholly subdues desire and wrath. thereby assuredly gains complete success.

12. Him who impels this (corporeal) Self to action, they call the Kshetragna (the knower of the field) ; but him who does the acts, the wise name the Bhutatman (the Self consisting of the elements).

13. Another internal Self that is generated with all embodied (Kshetragnas) is called Giva, through which (the Kshetragna) becomes sensible of all pleasure and pain in (successive) births.

14. These two, the Great One and the Kshetragna, who are closely united with the elements, pervade him who resides in the multiform created beings.

15. From his body innumerable forms go forth, which constantly impel the multiform creatures to action.

16. Another strong body, formed of particles (of the) five (elements and) destined to suffer the torments (in hell), is produced after death (in the case) of wicked men.

17. When (the evil-doers) by means of that body have suffered there the torments imposed by Yama, (its constituent parts) are united, each according to its class, with those very elements (from which they were taken).

18. He, having suffered for his faults, which are produced by attachment to sensual objects, and which result in misery, approaches, free from stains, those two mighty ones.

19. Those two together examine without tiring the merit and the guilt of that (individual soul), united with which it obtains bliss or misery both in this world and the next.

20. If (the soul) chiefly practises virtue and vice to a small degree, it obtains bliss in heaven, clothed with those very elements.

21. But if it chiefly cleaves to vice and to virtue in a small degree,

it suffers, deserted by the elements, the torments inflicted by Yama.

22. The individual soul, having endured those torments of Yama, again enters, free from taint, those very five elements, each in due proportion.

23. Let (man), having recognised even by means of his intellect these transitions of the individual soul (which depend) on merit and demerit, always fix his heart on (the acquisition of) merit.

24. Know Goodness (sattva), Activity (ragas), and Darkness (tamas) to be the three qualities of the Self, with which the Great One always completely pervades all existences.

25. When one of these qualities wholly predominates in a body, then it makes the embodied (soul) eminently distinguished for that quality.

26. Goodness is declared (to have the form of) knowledge, Darkness (of) ignorance, Activity (of) love and hatred; such is the nature of these (three) which is (all-)pervading and clings to everything created.

27. When (man) experiences in his soul a (feeling) full of bliss, a deep calm, as it were, and a pure light, then let him know (that it is) among those three (the quality called) Goodness.

28. What is mixed with pain and does not give satisfaction to the soul one may know (to be the quality of) Activity, which is difficult to conquer, and which ever draws embodied (souls towards sensual objects).

29. What is coupled with delusion, what has the character of an undiscernible mass, what cannot be fathomed by reasoning, what cannot be fully known, one must consider (as the quality of) Darkness.

30. I will, moreover, fully describe the results which arise from these three qualities, the excellent ones, the middling ones, and the lowest.

31. The study of the Vedas, austerity, (the pursuit of) knowledge, purity, control over the organs, the performance of meritorious acts and meditation on the Soul, (are) the marks of the quality of Goodness.

32. Delighting in undertakings, want or firmness, commission of sinful acts, and continual indulgence in sensual pleasures, (are) the marks of the quality of Activity.

33. Covetousness, sleepiness, pusillanimity, cruelty, atheism, leading an evil life, a habit of soliciting favours, and inattentiveness, are the marks of the quality of Darkness.

34. Know, moreover, the following to be a brief description of

the three qualities, each in its order, as they appear in the three (times, the present, past, and future).

35. When a (man), having done, doing, or being about to do any act, feels ashamed, the learned may know that all (such acts bear) the mark of the quality of Darkness.

36. But, when (a man) desires (to gain) by an act much fame in this world and feels no sorrow on failing, know that it (bears the mark of the quality of) Activity.

37. But that (bears) the mark of the quality of Goodness which with his whole (heart) he desires to know, which he is not ashamed to perform, and at which his soul rejoices.

38. The craving after sensual pleasures is declared to be the mark of Darkness, (the pursuit of) wealth (the mark) of Activity, (the desire to gain) spiritual merit the mark of Goodness; each later (named quality is) better than the preceding one.

39. I will briefly declare in due order what transmigrations in this whole (world a man) obtains through each of these qualities.

40. Those endowed with Goodness reach the state of gods, those endowed with Activity the state of men, and those endowed with Darkness ever sink to the condition of beasts; that is the threefold course of transmigrations.

41. But know this threefold course of transmigrations that depends on the (three) qualities (to be again) threefold, low, middling, and high, according to the particular nature of the acts and of the knowledge (of each man).

42. Immovable (beings), insects, both small and great, fishes, snakes, and tortoises, cattle and wild animals, are the lowest conditions to which (the quality of) Darkness leads.

43. Elephants, horses, Sudras, and despicable barbarians, lions, tigers, and boars (are) the middling states, caused by (the quality of) Darkness.

44. Karanas, Suparnas and hypocrites, Rakshasas and Pisakas (belong to) the highest (rank of) conditions among those produced by Darkness.

45. Ghallas, Mallas, Natas, men who subsist by despicable occupations and those addicted to gambling and drinking (form) the lowest (order of) conditions caused by Activity.

47. The Gandharvas, the Guhyakas, and the servants of the gods, likewise the Apsarasas, (belong all to) the highest (rank of) conditions produced by Activity.

48. Hermits, ascetics, Brahmanas, the crowds of the Vaimanika deities, the lunar mansions, and the Daityas (form) the first (and lowest rank of the) existences caused by Goodness.

49. Sacrifices, the sages, the gods, the Vedas, the heavenly lights, the years, the manes, and the Sadhyas (constitute the second order of existences, caused by Goodness.

50. The sages declare Brahma, the creators of the universe, the law, the Great One, and the Undiscernible One (to constitute) the highest order of beings produced by Goodness.

51. Thus (the result) of the threefold action, the whole system of transmigrations which (consists) of three classes, (each) with three subdivisions, and which includes all created beings, has been fully pointed out.

52. In consequence of attachment to (the objects of) the senses, and in consequence of the non-performance of their duties, fools, the lowest of men, reach the vilest births.

53. What wombs this individual soul enters in this world and in consequence of what actions, learn the particulars of that at large and in due order.

54. Those who committed mortal sins (mahapataka), having passed during large numbers of years through dreadful hells, obtain, after the expiration of (that term of punishment), the following births.

55. The slayer of a Brahmana enters the womb of a dog, a pig, an ass, a camel, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a deer, a bird, a Kandala, and a Pukkasa.

56. A Brahmana who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) Sura shall enter (the bodies) of small and large insects, of moths, of birds, feeding on ordure, and of destructive beasts.

57. A Brahmana who steals (the gold of a Brahmana shall pass) a thousand times (through the bodies) of spiders, snakes and lizards, of aquatic animals and of destructive Pisakas.

58. The violator of a Guru's bed (enters) a hundred times (the forms) of grasses, shrubs, and creepers, likewise of carnivorous (animals) and of (beasts) with fangs and of those doing cruel deeds.

59. Men who delight in doing hurt (become) carnivorous (animals); those who eat forbidden food, worms; thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; those who have intercourse with women of the lowest castes, Pretas.

60. He who has associated with outcasts, he who has approached the wives of other men, and he who has stolen the property of a Brah-

mana become Brahmarakshasas.

61. A man who out of greed has stolen gems, pearls or coral, or any of the many other kinds of precious things, is born among the goldsmiths.

62. For stealing grain (a man) becomes a rat, for stealing yellow metal a Hamsa, for stealing water a Plava, for stealing honey a stinging insect, for stealing milk a crow, for stealing condiments a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon;

63. For stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a winged animal (of the kind called) Tailapaga, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing sour milk a bird (of the kind called) Balaka.

64. For stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog, for stealing cotton-cloth a crane, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a flying-fox;

65. For stealing fine perfumes a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine, for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog.

66. For stealing fire he becomes a heron, for stealing household-utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed clothes a francolin-partridge;

67. For stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruit and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing water a black-white cuckoo, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat.

68. That man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another, or who has eaten sacrificial food (of) which (no portion) had been offered, inevitably becomes an animal.

69. Women, also, who in like manner have committed a theft, shall incur guilt; they will become the females of those same creatures (which have been enumerated above).

70. But (men of the four) castes who have relinquished without the pressure of necessity their proper occupations, will become the servants of Dasyus, after migrating into despicable bodies.

71. A Brahmana who has fallen off from his duty (becomes) an Ulkamukha Preta, who feeds on what has been vomited; and a Kshatriya, a Kataputana (Preta), who eats impure substances and corpses.

72. A Vaisya who has fallen off from his duty becomes a Maitrakshagyotika Preta, who feeds on pus; and a Sudra, a Kailasaka (Preta, who feeds on moths).

73. In proportion as sensual men indulge in sensual pleasures, in that same proportion their taste for them grows.

74. By repeating their sinful acts those men of small understanding suffer pain here (below) in various births;

75. (The torture of) being tossed about in dreadful hells, Tamisra and the rest, (that of) the Forest with sword-leaved trees and the like, and (that of) being bound and mangled;

76. And various torments, the (pain of) being devoured by ravens and owls, the heat of scorching sand, and the (torture of) being boiled in jars, which is hard to bear;

77. And births in the wombs (of) despicable (beings) which cause constant misery, and afflictions from cold and heat and terrors of various kinds,

78. The (pain of) repeatedly lying in various wombs and agonizing births, imprisonment in fetters hard to bear, and the misery of being enslaved by others,

79. And separation from their relatives and dear ones, and the (pain of) dwelling together with the wicked, labour in) gaining wealth and its loss, (trouble in) making friends and (the appearance of) enemies,

80. Old age against which there is no remedy, the pangs of diseases, afflictions of many various kinds, and (finally) unconquerable death.

81. But with whatever disposition of mind (a man) performs any act, he reaps its result in a (future) body endowed with the same quality.

82. All the results, proceeding from actions, have been thus pointed out; learn (next) those acts which secure supreme bliss to a Brahmana.

83. Studying the Veda, (practising) austerities, (the acquisition of true) knowledge, the subjugation of the organs, abstention from doing injury, and serving the Guru are the best means for attaining supreme bliss.

84. (If you ask) whether among all these virtuous actions, (performed) here below, (there be) one which has been declared more efficacious (than the rest) for securing supreme happiness to man.

85. (The answer is that) the knowledge of the Soul is stated to be the most excellent among all of them; for that is the first of all sciences, because immortality is gained through that.

86. Among those six (kinds of) actions (enumerated above, the performance of) the acts taught in the Veda must ever be held to be most efficacious for ensuring happiness in this world and the next.

87. For in the performance of the acts prescribed by the Veda

all those (others) are fully comprised, (each) in its turn in the several rules for the rites.

88. The acts prescribed by the Veda are of two kinds, such as procure an increase of happiness and cause a continuation (of mundane existence, pravritta), and such as ensure supreme bliss and cause a cessation (of mundane existence, nivritta).

89. Acts which secure (the fulfilment of) wishes in this world or in the next are called pravrita (such as cause a continuation of mundane existence); but acts performed without any desire (for a reward), preceded by (the acquisition) of (true) knowledge, are declared to be nivritta (such as cause the cessation of mundane existence).

90. He who sedulously performs acts leading to future births (pravritta) becomes equal to the gods; but he who is intent on the performance of those causing the cessation (of existence, nivritta) indeed, passes beyond (the reach of) the five elements.

91. He who sacrifices to the Self (alone), equally recognising the Self in all created beings and all created beings in the Self, becomes (independent like) an autocrat and self-luminous.

92. After giving up even the above-mentioned sacrificial rites, a Brahmana should exert himself in (acquiring) the knowledge of the Soul, in extinguishing his passions, and in studying the Veda.

93. For that secures the attainment of the object of existence, especially in the case of a Brahmana, because by attaining that, not otherwise, a twice-born man has gained all his ends.

94. The Veda is the eternal eye of the manes, gods, and men; the Veda-ordinance (is) both beyond the sphere of (human) power, and beyond the sphere of (human) comprehension; that is a certain fact.

95. All those traditions (smṛiti) and all those despicable systems of philosophy, which are not based on the Veda, produce no reward after death; for they are declared to be founded on Darkness.

96. All those (doctrines), differing from the (Veda), which spring up and (soon) perish, are worthless and false, because they are of modern date.

97. The four castes, the three worlds, the four orders, the past, the present, and the future are all severally known by means of the Veda.

98. Sound, touch, colour, taste, and fifthly smell are known through the Veda alone, (their) production (is) through the (Vedic rites, which in this respect are) secondary acts.

99. The eternal lore of the Veda upholds all created beings; hence I hold that to be supreme, which is the means of (securing happiness to) these creatures.

100. Command of armies, royal authority, the office of a judge, and sovereignty over the whole world he (only) deserves who knows the Veda-science.

101. As a fire that has gained strength consumes even trees full of sap, even so he who knows the Veda burns out the taint of his soul which arises from (evil) acts.

102. In whatever order (a man) who knows the true meaning of the Veda-science may dwell, he becomes even while abiding in this world, fit for the union with Brahman.

103. (Even forgetful) students of the (sacred) books are more distinguished than the ignorant, those who remember them surpass the (forgetful) students, those who possess a knowledge (of the meaning) are more distinguished than those who (only) remember (the words), men who follow (the teaching of the texts) surpass those who (merely) know (their meaning).

104. Austerity and sacred learning are the best means by which a Brahmana secures supreme bliss; by austerities he destroys guilt, by sacred learning he obtains the cessation of (births and) deaths.

105. The three (kinds of evidence), perception, inference, and the (sacred) Institutes which comprise the tradition (of) many (schools), must be fully understood by him who desires perfect correctness with respect to the sacred law.

106. He alone, and no other man, knows the sacred law, who explores the (utterances) of the sages and the body of the laws, by (modes of) reasoning, not repugnant to the Veda-lore.

107. Thus the acts which secure supreme bliss have been exactly and fully described; (now) the secret portion of these Institutes, proclaimed by Manu, will be taught.

108. If it be asked how it should be with respect to (points of) the law which have not been (specially) mentioned, (the answer is), 'that which Brahmanas (who are) Sishtas propound, shall doubtlessly have legal (force).'

109. Those Brahmanas must be considered as Sishtas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, and are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts.

110. Whatever an assembly, consisting either of at least ten, or

of at least three persons who follow their prescribed occupations, declares to be law, the legal (force of) that one must not dispute.

111. Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mimamsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three orders shall constitute a (legal) assembly, consisting of at least ten members.

112. One who knows the Rig-veda, one who knows the Yagur-veda, and one who knows the Sama-veda, shall be known (to form) an assembly consisting of at least three members (and competent) to decide doubtful points of law.

113. Even that which one Brahmana versed in the Veda declares to be law, must be considered (to have) supreme legal (force, but) not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men.

114. Even if thousands of Brahmanas, who have not fulfilled their sacred duties, are unacquainted with the Veda, and subsist only by the name of their caste, meet, they cannot (form) an assembly (for settling the sacred law).

115. The sin of him whom dunces, incarnations of Darkness, and unacquainted with the law, instruct (in his duty) falls, increased a hundredfold, on those who propound it.

116. All that which is most efficacious for securing supreme bliss has been thus declared to you; a Brahmana who does not fall off from that obtains the most excellent state.

117. Thus did that worshipful deity disclose to me, through a desire of benefiting mankind, this whole most excellent secret of the sacred law.

118. Let (every Brahmana), concentrating his mind, fully recognise in the Self all things, both the real and the unreal, for he who recognises the universe in the Self, does not give his heart to unrighteousness.

119. The Self alone is the multitude of the gods, the universe rests on the Self; for the Self produces the connexion of these embodied (spirits) with actions.

120. Let him meditate on the ether as identical with the cavities (of the body), on the wind as identical with the organs of motions and of touch, on the most excellent light as the same with his digestive organs and his sight, on water as the same with the (corporeal) fluids, on the earth as the same with the solid parts (of his body);

121. On the moon as one with the internal organs, on the quar-

ters of the horizon as one with his sense of hearing, on Vishnu as one with his (power of) motion, on Hara as the same with his strength, on Agni (Fire) as identical with his speech, on Mitra as identical with his excretions, and on Pragapati as one with his organ of generation.

122. Let him know the supreme Male (Purusha, to be) the sovereign ruler of them all, smaller even than small, bright like gold, and perceptible by the intellect (only when) in (a state of) sleep(-like) abstraction.

123. Some call him Agni (Fire), others Manu, the Lord of creatures, others Indra, others the vital air, and again others eternal Brahman.

124. He pervades all created beings in the five forms, and constantly makes them, by means of birth, growth and decay, revolve like the wheels (of a chariot).

125. He who thus recognises the Self through the Self in all created beings, becomes equal(-minded) towards all, and enters the highest state, Brahman.

126. A twice-born man who recites these Institutes, revealed by Manu, will be always virtuous in conduct, and will reach whatever condition he desires.

TRANSLATED BY GEORGE BUEHLER.



THE KAILASA AT ELLORA

East Indies.

THE Temples at Ellora are probably the most wonderful examples in the world of buildings hewn out of solid rock. They cover a vast extent. The oldest are probably Buddhist, dating back to the second century B. C., but there are also Brahman and Jain temples in the network of excavations.

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BUDDHIST IDEAS

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S birth is uncertain. Scholars have lately placed it about 485 B. C., though 543 B. C. used to be generally accepted. His life has been so concealed beneath tradition and fable that it is impossible to pick out the true from the legendary. He was undoubtedly born of well-to-do, the myths say of princely, parents. At nineteen he married his cousin. His first teachers were Brahmins, but at twenty-nine, after the birth of his son, he withdrew from the Brahmins into the forest, and for six years gave himself with five others to the practice of the most rigid asceticism. At the end of that time, he broke away from asceticism and extreme self-mortification, as he had before from the teachings of the Brahmins, and at the end of forty days spent in the most concentrated contemplation under a pipal-tree, the light of the "true life" is supposed to have burst upon him. This he explained as given in the sermon "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness," which he delivered, when, enthused with his new idea, he returned to convert the five ascetics that had been associated with him. From that time the new order, which might be considered a form of monasticism, spread rapidly, and soon overran western Asia. The monks were vowed to a simple life, celibacy, and existence upon unsolicited alms. Buddha was about eighty years old when he died.

Brahmanism had developed a rigid system of castes and rituals, and had taught that the nature of one's existence in the hereafter depended upon the performance of ceremonies and the knowledge, which the Brahmins kept to themselves, of the inner nature of the world. Buddha discouraged castes and forms, and made life here and in the hereafter depend, not on knowledge, but conduct.

FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

REVERENCE to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Fully-Enlightened One.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once staying at Benares, at the hermitage called Migadaya. And there the Blessed One addressed the company of the five Bhikkhus, and said:

2. 'There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensuality—a low and pagan way (of seeking satisfaction) unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly-minded— and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism (or self-mortification), which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

3. 'There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

4. 'What is that middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana? Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

'Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

'This, O Bhikkhus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes,

and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

5. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

'Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied, that too is painful. In brief, the five aggregates which spring from attachment (the conditions of individuality and their cause) are painful.

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

6. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

'Verily, it is that thirst (or craving), causing the renewal of existence, accompanied by sensual delight, seeking satisfaction now here, now there—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for (a future) life, or the craving for success (in this present life).

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering.

7. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

'Verily, it is the destruction, in which no passion remains, of this very thirst; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of this thirst.

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.

8. 'Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily! it is this noble eightfold path; that is to say:

'Right views;
Right aspirations;
Right speech;
Right conduct;
Right livelihood;
Right effort;
Right mindfulness; and
Right contemplation.

'This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

9. 'That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye (to perceive it), there arose the knowledge (of its nature), there arose the understanding (of its cause), there arose the wisdom (to guide in the path of tranquillity), there arose the light (to dispel darkness from it).

10. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should comprehend that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

11. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had comprehended that this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

12. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the origin of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye; but there arose within me the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

13. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

14. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully put away the origin of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

15. 'That this, O Bhikkhus, was the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow, though it was not among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

16. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should fully realise the destruction of sorrow though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose

the wisdom, there arose the light.

17. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had fully realized the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

18. 'That this was the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down; but there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

19. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I should become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

20. 'And again, O Bhikkhus, that I had become versed in the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow, though the noble truth concerning it was not among the doctrines handed down, there arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light.

21. 'So long, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelve-fold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans, or of gods or men.

22. 'But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truths, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brahmans, or of gods or men.

23. 'And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me!

24. Thus spake the Blessed One. The company of the five Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the words of the Blessed One. And

when the discourse had been uttered, there arose within the venerable Kondanna the eye of truth, spotless, and without a stain, (and he saw that) whatsoever has an origin, in that is also inherent the necessity of coming to an end.

25. And when the royal chariot wheel of the truth had thus been set rolling onwards by the Blessed One, the gods of the earth gave forth a shout, saying:

'In Benares, at the hermitage of the Migadaya, the supreme wheel of the empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One—that wheel which not by any Samana or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back!'

28. And thus, in an instant, a second, a moment, the sound went up even to the world of Brahma: and this great ten-thousand-world-system quaked and trembled and was shaken violently, and an immeasurable bright light appeared in the universe, beyond even the power of the gods!

29. Then did the Blessed One give utterance to this exclamation of joy: 'Kondanna hath realised it. Kondanna hath realised it!' And so the venerable Kondanna acquired the name of Annata-Kondanna ('the Kondanna who realised').

End of the Dhamma-kakka-ppavattana-sutta.

ON KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS

CHAPTER I.

1. **THIS HAVE I HEARD.** At one time when the Blessed One was journeying through Kosola with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred brethren, he came to the Brahman village in Kosala which is called Manasakata. And there at Manasakata the Blessed One stayed in the mango grove on the bank of the river Akiravati, to the south of Manasakata.

2. Now at that time many very distinguished and wealthy Brahmins were staying at Manasakata — to wit, Kanki the Brahman, Tarukkha the Brahman, Pokkharasati the Brahman, Ganussoni the Brahman, Todeyya the Brahman, and other very distinguished and wealthy Brahmins.

3. Now a conversation sprung up between Vasettha and Bharadvaga, when they were taking exercise (after their bath) and walking up and down in thoughtful mood, as to which was the true path, and which the false.

4. The young Brahman Vasettha spake thus:

'This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Pokkharasati.'

5. The young Brahman Bharadvaga spake thus:

'This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Tarukkha.'

6. But neither was the young Brahman Vasettha able to convince the young Brahman Bharadvaga, nor was the young Brahman Bharadvaga able to convince the young Brahman Vasettha.

7. Then the young Brahman Vasettha said to the young Brahman Bharadvaga:

'That Samana Gotama, Bharadvaga, of the Sakya clan, who left the Sakya tribe to adopt the religious life, is now staying at Manasakata, in the mango grove, on the bank of the river Akiravati, to the south of Manasakata. Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such

is the high reputation that has been noised abroad, that he is said to be "a fully enlightened one, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a blessed Buddha." Come, then, Bharadvaga, let us go to the place where the Samana Gotama is; and when we have come there, let us ask the Samana Gotama touching this matter. What the Samana Gotama shall declare unto us, that let us bear in mind.'

'Very well, my friend!' said the young Brahman Bharadvaga, in assent, to the young Brahman Vasettha.

8. Then the young Brahman Vasettha and the young Brahman Bharadvaga went on to the place where the Blessed One was.

And when they had come there, they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and sat down beside him.

And while they were thus seated the young Brahman Vasettha said to the Blessed One:

'As we, Gotama, were taking exercise and walking up and down, there sprung up a conversation between us on which was the true path and which the false. I said thus:

"This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Pokkarasati."

'Bharadvaga said thus:

"This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Tarukkha."

'Regarding this matter, Gotama, there is a strife, a dispute, a difference of opinion between us.'

9. 'So you say, Vasettha, that you said thus:

"This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Pokkarasati."

'While Bharadvaga said thus:

"This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma—I mean that which has been announced by the Brahman Tarukkha."

'Wherein, then, O Vasettha, is there a strife, a dispute, a differ-

ence of opinion between you?"

10. 'Concerning the true path and the false, Gotama. Various Brahmans, Gotama, teach various paths—the Addhariya Brahmans, the Tittiriya Brahmans, the Khandoka Brahmans, the Khandava Brahmans, the Brahmakariya Brahmans. Are all those saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahma?

'Just, Gotama, as near a village or a town there are many and various paths, yet they all meet together in the village—just in that way are all the various paths taught by various Brahmans—the Ad-dhariya Brahmans, the Tittiriya Brahmans, the Khandoka Brahmans, the Khandava Brahmans, the Brahmakariya Brahmans. Are all these saving paths? Are they all paths which will lead him, who acts according to them, into a state of union with Brahma?'

11. 'Do you say that they all lead aright, Vasettha?'

'I say so, Gotama.'

'Do you really say that they all lead aright, Vasettha?'

'So I say, Gotama.'

12. 'But then, Vasettha, is there a single one of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas who has ever seen Brahma face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama.'

'But is there then, Vasettha, a single one of the teachers of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahma face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, Vasettha, a single one of the pupils of the teachers of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas who has seen Brahma face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

'But is there then, Vasettha, a single one of the Brahmans up to the seventh generation who has seen Brahma face to face?'

'No, indeed, Gotama!'

13. 'Well then, Vasettha, those ancient Rishis of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas, the authors of the verses, the utterers of the verses, whose ancient form of words so chaunted, uttered, or composed, the Brahmans of to-day chaunt over again or repeat; intoning or reciting exactly as has been intoned or recited—to wit, Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi, Angirasa, Bharadvaga, Vasettha, Kassapa, and Bhagu—did even they speak thus, saying: "We know it, we have seen it, where Brahma is, whence Brahma is,

whither Brahma is?"

'Not so, Gotama!'

14. 'Then you say, Vasettha [that not one of the Brahmins, or of their teachers, or of their pupils, even up to the seventh generation, has even seen Brahma face to face. And that even the Rishis of old, the authors and utterers of the verses, of the ancient form of words which the Brahmins of to-day so carefully intone and recite precisely as they have been handed down—even they did not pretend to know or to have seen where or whence or whither Brahma is]. So that the Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas have forsooth said thus: "What we know not, what we have not seen, to a state of union with that we can show the way, and can say: 'This is the straight path, this is the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, into a state of union with Brahma!'"

'Now what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow, this being so, that the talk of the Brahmins, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!'

15. 'Verily, Vasettha, that Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence!

'Just, Vasettha, as when a string of blind men are clinging one to the other, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see—just even so, methinks, Vasettha, is the talk of the Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas but blind talk: the first sees not, the middle one sees not, nor can the latest see. The talk then of these Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing!'

16. 'Now what think you, Vasettha? Can the Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship them, turning round with clasped hands towards the place whence they rise and where they set?'

'Certainly, Gotama, they [can].'

17. 'Now what think you, Vasettha? The Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas, who can very well—like other, ordinary, folk—see the sun and the moon as they pray to, and praise, and worship

them, turning round with clasped hands to the place whence they rise and where they set—are those Brahmins, versed in the Three Vedas, able to point out the way to a state of union with the sun or the moon, saying: "This is the straight path, this the direct way which leads him, who acts according to it, to a state of union with the sun or the moon?"'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

18. 'So you say, Vasettha, that the Brahmins [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahma]. And you further say that even the Rishis of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahma is. Yet these Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brahmins, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!'

19. 'Very good, Vasettha. Verily then, Vasettha, that Brahmins versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.

'Just, Vasettha, as if a man should say, "How I long for, how I love the most beautiful woman in this land!"

'And people should ask him, "Well! good friend! this most beautiful woman in the land whom you thus love and long for, do you know whether that beautiful woman is a noble lady or a Brahman woman, or of the trader class, or a Sudra?"

'But when so asked he should answer "No."

'And when people should ask him, "Well! good friend! this most beautiful woman in all the land, whom you so love and long for, do you know what the name of that most beautiful woman is, or what is her family name, whether she be tall or short, dark or of medium complexion, black or fair, or in what village or town or city she dwells?"

'But when so asked he should answer "No."

'And then people should say to him, "So then, good friend, whom you know not, neither have seen, her do you love and long for?"

'And then when so asked he should answer "Yes."'

'Now what think you, Vasettha? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk!'

20. 'And just even so, Vasettha, though you say that the Brahmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahma]. And you further say that even the Rishis of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahma is. Yet these Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that when they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brahmans, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, is foolish talk?'

'In sooth Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk!'

'Very good, Vasettha. Verily then, Vasettha, that Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such a condition of things has no existence.'

21. 'Just, Vasettha, as if a man should make a staircase in the place where four roads cross, to mount up into a mansion. And people should say to him, "Well, good friend, this mansion, to mount up into which you are making this staircase, do you know whether it is in the east, or in the south, or in the west, or in the north? whether it is high or low or of medium size?"

'And when so asked he should answer "No."'

'And people should say to him, "But then, good friend, you are making a staircase to mount up into something—taking it for a mansion—which, all the while, you know not, neither have seen!"

'And when so asked he should answer "Yes."'

'Now what think you, Vasettha? Would it not turn out, that being so, that the talk of that man was foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, it would turn out, that being so, that the talk

of that man was foolish talk !'

22. 'And just even so, Vasettha, though you say that the Brahmans [are not able to point out the way to union with that which they have seen], and you further say that [neither any one of them, nor of their pupils, nor of their predecessors even to the seventh generation has ever seen Brahma]. And you further say that even the Rishis of old, [whose words they hold in such deep respect, did not pretend to know, or to have seen where, or whence, or whither Brahma is. Yet these Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas say, forsooth, that they can point out the way to union with that which they know not, neither have seen!] Now what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow that, this being so, the talk of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk?'

'In sooth, Gotama, that being so, it follows that the talk of the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas is foolish talk !'

23. 'Very good, Vasettha. Verily then, Vasettha, that Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas should be able to show the way to a state of union with that which they do not know, neither have seen—such condition of things has no existence.'

24. 'Again, Vasettha, if this river Akiravati were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, standing on this bank, should invoke the further bank, and say, "Come hither, O further bank ! come over to this side !"

'Now what think you, Vasettha? Would the further bank of the river Akiravati, by reason of that man's invoking and praying and hoping and praising, come over to this side?'

'Certainly not, Gotama !'

25. 'In just the same way, Vasettha, do the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas—omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brahman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not Brahmans—say thus: "Indra we call upon, Soma we call upon, Varuna we call upon, Isana we call upon, Pagapati we call upon, Brahma we call upon, Mahiddhi we call upon, Yama we call upon!" Verily, Vasettha, that those Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brahman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men not Brahmans—that they, by reason of their invoking and praying and hoping and praising, should, after death and when the body is dissolved, become united with Brah-

ma—verily such a condition of things has no existence!’

26. ‘Just, Vasettha, as if this river Akiravati were full, even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And he, on this bank, were to be bound tightly, with his arms behind his back, by a strong chain. Now what think you, Vasettha, would that man be able to get over from this bank of the river Akiravati to the further bank?’

‘Certainly not, Gotama!’

27. ‘In the same way, Vasettha, there are five things leading to lust, which are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.”’

‘What are the five?’

‘Forms perceptible to the eye; desirable, agreeable, pleasant, attractive forms, that are accompanied by lust and cause delight. Sounds of the same kind perceptible to the ear. Odours of the same kind perceptible to the nose. Tastes of the same kind perceptible to the tongue. Substances of the same kind perceptible to the body by touch. These five things predisposing to passion are called in the Discipline of the Noble One a “chain” and a “bond.” And these five things predisposing to lust, Vasettha, do the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas cling to, they are infatuated by them, guilty of them, see not the danger of them, know not how unreliable they are, and so enjoy them.

28. ‘And verily, Vasettha, that Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brahman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brahmans—clinging to these five things predisposing to passion, infatuated by them, guilty of them, seeing not their danger, knowing not their unreliability, and so enjoying them—that these Brahmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahma—such a condition of things has no existence.’

29. ‘Again, Vasettha, if this river Akiravati were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing. And a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over. And if he covering himself up, even to his head, were to lie down, on this bank, to sleep.

‘Now what think you, Vasettha? Would that man be able to get

over from this bank of the river Akiravati to the further bank?"

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

30. 'And in the same way, Vasettha, there are these five hindrances, in the Discipline of the Noble One, which are called "veils," and are called "hindrances," and are called obstacles," and are called "entanglements."

'Which are the five?'

'The hindrance of lustful desire,
The hindrance of malice,
The hindrance of sloth and idleness,
The hindrance of pride and self-righteousness,
The hindrance of doubt.

'These are the five hindrances, Vasettha, which, in the Discipline of the Noble One, are called veils, and are called hindrances, and are called obstacles, and are called entanglements.

31. 'Now with these five hindrances, Vasettha, the Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas are veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled.

32. 'And verily, Vasettha, that Brahmans versed in the Three Vedas, but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man Brahman, and adopting the practice of those qualities which really make men non-Brahmans — veiled, hindered, obstructed, and entangled by these Five Hindrances — that these Brahmans should after death, on the dissolution of the body, become united to Brahma — such a condition of things has no existence.'

33. 'Now what think you, Vasettha, and what have you heard from the Brahmans aged and well-stricken in years, when the learners and teachers are talking together? Is Brahma in possession of wives and wealth, or is he not?'

'He is not, Gotama.'

'Is his mind full of anger, or free from anger?'

'Free from anger, Gotama.'

'Is his mind full of malice, or free from malice?'

'Free from malice, Gotama.'

'Is his mind depraved, or pure?'

'It is pure, Gotama.'

'Has he self-mastery, or has he not?'

'He has, Gotama.'

34. 'Now what think you, Vasettha, are the Brahmans versed

in the Vedas in the possession of wives and wealth, or are they not?

'They are, Gotama.'

'Have they anger in their hearts, or have they not?'

'They have, Gotama.'

'Do they bear malice, or do they not?'

'They do, Gotama.'

'Are they pure in heart, or are they not?'

'They are not, Gotama.'

'Have they self-mastery, or have they not?'

'They have not, Gotama.'

35. 'Then you say, Vasettha, that the Brahmins are in possession of wives and wealth, and that Brahma is not. Can there, then, be agreement and likeness between the Brahmins with their wives and property, and Brahma, who has none of these things?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

36. 'Very good, Vasettha. But, verily, that these Brahmins versed in the Vedas, who live married and wealthy should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahma, who has none of these things — such a condition of things has no existence.'

37. 'Then you say, too, Vasettha, that the Brahmins bear anger and malice in their hearts, and are sinful and uncontrolled, whilst Brahma is free from anger and malice, and sinless, and has self-mastery. Now can there, then, be concord and likeness between the Brahmins and Brahma?'

'Certainly not, Gotama!'

38. 'Very good, Vasettha. That these Brahmins versed in the Vedas and yet bearing anger and malice in their hearts, sinful, and uncontrolled, should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united to Brahma, who is free from anger and malice, sinless, and has self-mastery—such a condition of things has no existence.'

39. 'So that thus then, Vasettha, the Brahmins, versed though they be in the Three Vedas, while they sit down (in confidence), are sinking down (in the mire); and so sinking they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land.

'Therefore is it that the threefold wisdom of the Brahmins, wise in their Three Vedas, is called a waterless desert, their threefold wisdom is called a pathless jungle, their threefold wisdom is called des-

truccion !'

40. When he had thus spoken, the young Brahman Vasettha said to the Blessed One :

'It has been told me, Gotama, that the Samana Gotama knows the way to the state of union with Brahma.

41. 'What do you think, Vasettha, is not Manasakata near to this spot, not distant from this spot?'

'Just so, Gotama. Manasakata is near to, is not far from here.

42. 'Now what think you, Vasettha, suppose there were a man born in Manasakata, and people should ask him, who never till that time had left Manasakata, which was the way to Manasakata. Would that man, born and brought up in Manasakata, be in any doubt or difficulty?'

'Certainly not, Gotama! And why? If the man had been born and brought up in Manasakata, every road that leads to Manasakata would be perfectly familiar to him.'

43. 'That man, Vasettha, born and brought up at Manasakata might, if he were asked the way to Manasakata, fall into doubt and difficulty, but to the Tathagata, when asked touching the path which leads to the world of Brahma, there can be neither doubt nor difficulty. For Brahma, I know, Vasettha, and the world of Brahma, and the path which leadeth unto it. Yea, I know it even as one who has entered the Brahma world, and has been born within it!'

44. When he had thus spoken, Vasettha the young Brahman said to the Blessed One :

'So has it been told me, Gotama, even that the Samana Gotama knows the way to a state of union with Brahma. It is well! Let the venerable Gotama be pleased to show us the way to a state of union with Brahma, let the venerable Gotama save the Brahman race!'

45. 'Listen then, Vasettha, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!'

'So be it, Lord!' said the young Brahman Vasettha, in assent, to the Blessed One.

46. Then the Blessed One spake, and said :

'Know, Vasettha, that (from time to time) a Tathagata is born into the world, a fully Enlightened One, blessed and worthy, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the world, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men,

a Blessed Buddha. He, by himself, thoroughly understands, and sees, as it were, face to face this universe—the world below with all its spirits, and the worlds above, of Mara and of Brahma—and all creatures, Samanas and Brahmans, gods and men, and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and in its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation: the higher life doth he make known, in all its purity and in all its perfectness.

47. 'A householder (gahapati), or one of his children, or a man of inferior birth in any class, listens to that truth. On hearing the truth he has faith in the Tathagata, and when he has acquired that faith he thus considers with himself:

“Full of hindrances is household life, a path defiled by passion: free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things. How difficult is it for the man who dwells at home to live the higher life in all its fulness, in all its purity, in all its bright perfection! Let me then cut off my hair and beard, let me clothe myself in the orange-coloured robes, and let me go forth from a household life into the homeless state!”

48. “Then before long, forsaking his portion of wealth, be it great or be it small; forsaking his circle of relatives, be they many or be they few, he cuts off his hair and beard, he clothes himself in the orange-coloured robes, and he goes forth from the household life into the homeless state.

49. “When he has thus become a recluse he passes a life self-restrained according to the rules of the Patimokkha; uprightness is his delight, and he sees danger in the least of those things he should avoid; he adopts and trains himself in the precepts; he encompasses himself with holiness in word and deed; he sustains his life by means that are quite pure; good is his conduct, guarded the door of his senses; mindful and self-possessed, he is altogether happy!”

CHAPTER II.

1. ‘Now wherein, Vasettha, is his conduct good?’

‘Herein, O Vasettha, that putting away the murder of that which lives, he abstains from destroying life. The cudgel and the sword he lays aside; and, full of modesty and pity, he is compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life!

‘This is the kind of goodness that he has.

2. ‘Putting away the theft of that which is not his, he abstains

from taking anything not given. He takes only what is given, therewith is he content, and he passes his life in honesty and in purity of heart!

'This, too, is the kind of goodness that he has.

3. 'Putting away in chastity, he lives a life of chastity and purity, averse to the low habit of sexual intercourse.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. 'Putting away lying, he abstains from speaking falsehood. He speaks truth, from the truth he never swerves; faithful and trustworthy, he injures not his fellow man by deceit.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Putting away slander, he abstains from calumny. What he hears here he repeats not elsewhere to raise a quarrel against the people here: what he hears elsewhere he repeats not here to raise a quarrel against the people there. Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of words that make for peace.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Putting away bitterness of speech, he abstains from harsh language. Whatever word is humane, pleasant to the ear, lovely, reaching to the heart, urbane, pleasing to the people, beloved of the people—such are the words he speaks.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Putting away foolish talk, he abstains from vain conversation. In season he speaks; he speaks that which is; he speaks fact; he utters good doctrine; he utters good discipline; he speaks, and at the right time, that which redounds to profit, is well-grounded, is well-defined, and is full of wisdom.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'He refrains from injuring any herb or any creature. He takes but one meal a day; abstaining from food at night time, or at the wrong time. He abstains from dancing, singing, music, and theatrical shows. He abstains from wearing, using, or adorning himself with garlands, and scents, and unguents, and he abstains from lofty couches and large beds.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. 'He abstains from the getting of silver or gold. He abstains from the getting of grain uncooked. He abstains from the getting of flesh that is raw. He abstains from the getting of any woman or

girl. He abstains from the getting of bondmen or bondwomen. He abstains from the getting of sheep or goats. He abstains from the getting of fowls or swine. He abstains from the getting of elephants, cattle horses, and mares. He abstains from the getting of fields or lands.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

10. 'He refrains from carrying out those commissions on which messengers can be sent. He refrains from buying and selling. He abstains from tricks with false weights, alloyed metals, or false measures. He abstains from bribery, cheating, fraud, and crooked ways.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

11. 'He refrains from maiming, killing, imprisoning, highway robbery, plundering villages, or obtaining money by threats of violence.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

End of the Short Paragraphs on Conduct.

1. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to injuring plants or vegetables: that is to say, the germs arising from roots, the germs arising from trunks of trees, the germs arising from joints, the germs arising from buds, or the germs arising from seeds. He, on the other hand, refrains from injuring such plants or animals.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to storing up property: that is to say, meat, drink, clothes, equipages, beds, perfumes, and grain. He, on the other hand, refrains from storing up such property.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to witnessing public spectacles: that is to say, dancing, singing, concerts, theatrical representations, recitations, instrumental music, funeral ceremonies, drumming, balls, gymnastics, tumblings, feasts in honour of the dead, combats between elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats, rams, cocks, and quails, cudgel playing, boxing, wrestling, fencing, musters, marching, and review of troops. He, on the other hand, refrains from such public spectacles.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to occupying their time with games detrimental to their progress in virtue: that is to say, with a board of sixty-four squares, or of one hundred squares; tossing up; hopping over diagrams formed on the ground; removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; dicing; trapball; sketching rude figures; tossing balls; blowing trumpets; ploughing matches; tumbling; forming mimic windmills; guessing at measures; chariot races; archery; shooting marbles from the fingers; guessing other people's thoughts; and mimicking other people's acts. He, on the other hand, refrains from such games detrimental to virtue.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of elevated and ornamented couches or things to recline upon: that is to say, of large couches; ornamented beds; coverlets with long fleece; embroidered counterpanes; woollen coverlets, plain or worked with thick flowers; cotton coverlets, worked with knots, or dyed with figures of animals; fleecy carpets; carpets inwrought with gold or with silk; far-spreading carpets; rich elephant housings, trappings, or harness; rugs for chariots; skins of the tiger or antelope; and pillows or cushions ornamented with gold lace or embroidery. He, on the other hand, refrains from the use of such elevated or ornamented couches or things to recline upon.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to the use of articles for the adornment of their persons: that is to say, unguents; fragrant oils; perfumed baths; shampooings; mirrors; antimony for the eyebrows and eyelashes; flowers; cosmetics; dentifrices; bracelets; diadems; handsome walking-sticks; tiaras; swords; umbrellas; embroidered slippers; fillets; jewelry; fans of the buffalo tail; and long white garments. He, on the other hand, refrains, from the use of such articles for the adornment of the person.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to mean talk: that is to say, tales of kings, of robbers, or of ministers of state; tales of arms, of war, of terror; conversation respecting meats, drinks, clothes,

couches, garlands, perfumes, relationships, equipages, streets, villages, towns, cities, provinces, women, warriors, demigods; fortune-telling; hidden treasures in jars; ghost stories; empty tales; disasters by sea; accidents on shore; things which are, and things which are not. He, on the other hand, refrains from such mean conversation.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

8. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to wrangling: that is to say, to saying, "You are ignorant of this doctrine and discipline, but I understand them!" "What do you know of doctrine or discipline?" "You are heterodox, but I am orthodox!" "My discourse is profitable, but yours is worthless!" "That which you should speak first you speak last, and that which you should speak last you speak first!" "What you have long studied I have completely overturned!" "Your errors are made quite plain!" "You are disgraced!" "Go away and escape from this disputation; or if not, extricate yourself from your difficulties!" He, on the other hand, refrains from such wrangling.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

9. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to performing the servile duties of a go-between: that is to say, between kings, ministers of state, soldiers, Brahmans, people of property, or young men, who say, "Come here!" "Go there!" "Take this to such a place!" "Bring that here!" But he refrains from such servile duties of a messenger.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

10. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue addicted to hypocrisy: that is to say, they speak much; they make high professions; they disparage others; and they are continually thirsting after gain. But he refrains from such hypocritical craft.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

End of the Middle Paragraphs on Conduct.

1. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices as these: that is to say, by divination from marks on the body; by auguries; by the interpretation of prognostics, of dreams, and of omens, good or bad; by divinations from

the manner in which cloth and other such things have been bitten by rats; by sacrifices to the god or fire, offerings of Dabba grass, offerings with a ladle, offerings of husks, of bran, of rice, of clarified butter, of oil, and of liquids ejected from the mouth; and by bloody sacrifices; by teaching spells for preserving the body, for determining lucky sites, for protecting fields, for luck in war, against ghosts and goblins, to secure good harvests, to cure snake bites, to serve as antidotes for poison, and to cure bites of scorpions or rats; by divination, by the flight of hawks, or by the croaking of ravens; by guessing at length of life; by teaching spells to ward off wounds; and by pretended knowledge of the language of beasts.—

He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

2. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices as these: that is to say, by explaining the good and bad points in jewels, sticks, garments, swords, arrows, bows, weapons of war, women, men, youths, maidens, male and female slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, oxen, goats, sheep, fowl, snipe, iguanas, long-eared creatures, turtle, and deer.—

He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

3. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by foretelling future events, as these:

"There will be a sortie by the king." "There will not be a sortie by the king." "The king within the city will attack." "The king outside the city will retreat." "The king within the city will gain the victory." "The king outside the city will be defeated." "The king outside the city will be the conqueror." "The king inside the city will be vanquished." Thus prophesying to this one victory and to that one defeat.—

He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

4. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts

and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—

“There will be an eclipse of the moon.” “There will be an eclipse of the sun.” “There will be an eclipse of a planet.” “The sun and the moon will be in conjunction.” “The sun and the moon will be in opposition.” “The planets will be in conjunction.” “The planets will be in opposition.” “There will be falling meteors, and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere.” “There will be earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings.” “The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets will be cloudy or clear.” And then: “The eclipse of the moon will have such and such a result.” “The eclipse of the sun will have such and such a result.” “The sun and the moon being in opposition will have such and such a result.” “The planets being in conjunction will have such and such a result.” “The planets being in opposition will have such and such a result.” “The falling meteors and fiery coruscations in the atmosphere will have such and such a result.” “The earthquakes, thunderbolts, and forked lightnings will have such and such a result.” “The rising and setting of the sun, moon, or planets, cloudy or clear, will have such and such a result.”

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

5. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by predicting—

“There will be an abundant rainfall.” “There will be a deficient rainfall.” “There will be an abundant harvest.” “There will be famine.” “There will be tranquillity.” “There will be disturbances.” “The season will be sickly.” “The season will be healthy.” Or by drawing deeds, making up accounts, giving pills, making verses, or arguing points of casuistry—

‘He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

‘This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

6. ‘Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by giving advice touching the taking in marriage, or the giving in marriage; the forming of alliances, or the dissolution of connections; the calling in prop-

erty, or the laying of it out. By teaching spells to procure prosperity, or to cause adversity to others; to remove sterility; to produce dumbness, locked-jaw, deformity, or deafness. By obtaining oracular responses by the aid of a mirror, or from a young girl, or from a god. By worshipping the sun, or by worshipping Brahma; by spitting fire out of their mouths, or by laying hands on people's heads—

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)

7. 'Or whereas some Samana-Brahmans, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these: that is to say, by teaching the ritual for making vows and performing them; for blessing fields; for imparting virility and rendering impotent; for choosing the site of a house; for performing a house-warming. By teaching forms of words to be used when cleansing the mouth, when bathing, and when making offerings to the god of fire. By prescribing medicines to produce vomiting or purging, or to remove obstructions in the higher or lower intestines, or to relieve head-ache. By preparing oils for the ear, collyriums, catholicons, antimony, and cooling drinks. By practising cautery, midwifery, or the use of root decoctions or salves—

'He, on the other hand, refrains from seeking a livelihood by such low arts, by such lying practices.

'This, too, (&c., see § II, 2.)'

End of the Long Paragraphs on Conduct.

CHAPTER III.

1. 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

2. 'Just, Vasettha, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt love.

'Verily this, Vasettha, is the way to a state of union with Brahma.

3. 'And he lets his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of pity, sympathy, and equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure.

4. 'Just, Vasettha, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions; even so of all things that have shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free, and deep-felt pity, sympathy, and equanimity.

'Verily this, Vasettha, is the way to a state of union with Brahma.'

5. 'Now what think you, Vasettha, will the Bhikkhu who lives thus be in possession of women and of wealth, or will he not?'

'He will not, Gotama!'

'Will he be full of anger, or free from anger?'

'He will be free from anger, Gotama!'

'Will his mind be full of malice, or free from malice?'

'Free from malice, Gotama!'

'Will his mind be sinful, or pure?'

'It will be pure, Gotama!'

'Will he have self-mastery, or will he not?'

'Surely he will, Gotama!'

6. 'Then you say, Vasettha, that the Bhikkhu is free from household cares, and that Brahma is free from household cares. Is there then agreement and likeness between the Bhikkhu and Brahma?'

'There is, Gotama!'

7. 'Very good, Vasettha. Then in sooth, Vasettha, that the Bhikkhu who is free from household cares should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahma, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!

8. 'And so you say, Vasettha, that the Bhikkhu is free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself; and that Brahma is free from anger, and free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself. Then in sooth, Vasettha, that the Bhikkhu who is free from anger, free from malice, pure in mind, and master of himself should after death, when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahma, who is the same—such a condition of things is every way possible!'

9. When he had thus spoken, the young Brahmins Vasettha and Bharadvaga addressed the Blessed One, and said :

'Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms ;— just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to us, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And we, even we, betake ourselves, Lord, to the Blessed One as our refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept us as disciples, as true believers, from this day forth, as long as life endures !'

End of the Tevigga Suttanta.

ALL THE ASAVAS

1. **THUS HAVE I HEARD.** The Blessed One was once staying at Savatthi, at the Getavana, in Anatha Pindika's park.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said, 'Bhikkhus.'

'Yea, Lord !' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One spake :

2. 'I will teach you, O brethren, the lesson of the subjugation of all the Asavas. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak !'

'Even so, Lord !' said the brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One spake :

'I say that there is destruction of the Asavas, brethren, to him who knows, to him who sees ; not to him who knows not, to him who sees not. And what do I say, brethren, is the destruction of the Asavas to him who knows, to him who sees ? It is (a matter of) wise consideration, and of foolish consideration.

3. 'In him, brethren, who considers unwisely, Asavas which have not arisen spring up, and Asavas which have arisen are increased. In him, brethren, who considers wisely, Asavas which have not arisen spring not up, and Asavas which have arisen do not increase.

4. 'There are Asavas which should be abandoned, brethren, by insight, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by subjugation, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by right use, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by endurance, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by avoidance, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by removal, there are Asavas which should be abandoned by cultivation.

5. 'And which, brethren, are the Asavas which should be abandoned by insight?

'In the first place, brethren, the ignorant unconverted man, who perceives not the Noble Ones, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of the noble ones; who perceives not good men, who comprehends not, nor is trained according to the doctrine of good men; he neither understands what things ought to be considered, nor what ought not to be considered; the things that ought not to be considered, those he considers; and the things that ought to be considered, those he does not consider.

6. 'And which, brethren, are those things which he should not consider, which he nevertheless considers?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Asava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great: the Asava of Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Asava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

'These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

7. 'And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, which he nevertheless does not consider?

'There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Asava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away; the Asava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away; the Asava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

‘These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

8. ‘It is by his consideration of those things, which ought not to be considered; and by his non-consideration of those things, which ought to be considered, that Asavas arise within him which had not sprung up; and Asavas which had sprung up, grow great.’

9. ‘Unwisely doth he consider thus:

‘“Have I existed during the ages that are past, or have I not? What was I during the ages that are past? How was I during the ages that are past? Having been what, what did I become in the ages that are past? Shall I exist during the ages of the future, or shall I not? What shall I be during the ages of the future? How shall I be during the ages of the future? Having been what, what shall I become during the ages of the future?”

‘Or he debates within himself as to the present: “Do I after all exist, or am I not? How am I? This is a being; whence now did it come, and whither will it go?”

10. ‘In him, thus unwisely considering, there springs up one or other of the six (absurd) notions.

‘As something true and real he gets the notion, “I have a self!”

‘As something true and real he gets the notion, “I have not a self!”

‘As something true and real he gets the notion, “By myself I am conscious of my self!”

‘As something true and real he gets the notion, “By myself I am conscious of my non-self!”

‘Or, again, he gets the notion, “This soul of mine can be perceived, it has experienced the result of good and evil actions committed here and there: now this soul of mine is permanent, lasting, eternal, has the inherent quality of never changing, and will continue for ever and ever!”

11. ‘This, brethren, is called the walking in delusion, the jungle of delusion, the writhing of delusion, the fetter of delusion.

12. ‘Bound, brethren, with this fetter of delusion, the ignorant unconverted man becomes not freed from birth, decay, and death, from sorrows, lamentations, pains, and griefs, and from expedients—he does not become free, I say, from pain.

13. ‘But the wise man, brethren, the disciple walking in the Noble Path, who perceives the noble ones; who comprehends, and

is trained according to, the doctrine of the Noble Ones; who perceives good men, who comprehends, and is trained according to, the doctrine of good men; he understands both what things ought to be considered, and what things ought not to be considered—and thus understanding, the things that ought to be considered those he considers; and the things that ought not to be considered, those he does not consider.

14. 'And which, brethren, are those things which ought not to be considered, and which he does not consider?

'There are things which, when a man considers them, the Asava of Lust springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of Lust, which had sprung up, grows great; the Asava of Life springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of Life, which had sprung up, grows great; the Asava of Ignorance springs up within him, which had not sprung up before; and the Asava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, grows great.

'These are the things which ought not to be considered, things which he considers.

15. 'And which, brethren, are those things which should be considered, and which he does consider?

'There are things, brethren, which, when a man considers them, the Asava of Lust, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Lust, which had sprung up, is put away; the Asava of Life, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Life, which had sprung up, is put away; the Asava of Ignorance, if it had not sprung up before, springs not up within him; and the Asava of Ignorance, which had sprung up, is put away.

'These are the things which ought to be considered, things which he does not consider.

16. 'It is by his not considering those things which ought to be considered, and by his considering those things which ought not to be considered, that Asavas which had not sprung up within him spring not up, and Asavas which had sprung up are put away.

17. 'He considers, "This is suffering." He considers, "This is the origin of suffering." He considers, "This is the cessation of suffering." He considers, "This is the way which leads to the cessation of suffering." And from him, thus considering, the three fetters fall away—the delusion of self, hesitation, and the dependence on rites and ceremonies.

'These are the Asavas, brethren, which are to be abandoned by insight.

18. 'And which are the Asavas to be abandoned by subjugation (samvara)?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Sight. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of sight the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

19. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Hearing. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of hearing the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

20. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Smell. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of smell the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

21. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Taste. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of taste the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

22. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Touch. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of touch the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

23. 'Wisely reflecting, he remains shut in by the subjugation of the organ of Mind. For whereas to the man not shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress, to the man shut in by the subjugation of the organ of mind the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by subjugation.

24. 'And which are the Asavas to be abandoned by right use?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, makes use of his

robes for the purpose only of warding off the cold, of warding off the heat, of warding off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes; and of covering his nakedness.

25. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of alms, not for sport or sensual enjoyment, not for adorning or beautifying himself, but solely to sustain the body in life, to prevent its being injured, to aid himself in the practice of a holy life—thinking the while, "Thus shall I overcome the old pain, and shall incur no new; and everywhere shall I be at ease, and free from blame."

26. Wisely reflecting, he makes use of an abode; only to ward off cold, to ward off heat, to ward off the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes; only to avoid the dangers of the climate, and to secure the delight of privacy.

27. 'Wisely reflecting, he makes use of medicine and other necessities for the sick; only to ward off the pain that causes injury, and to preserve his health.

28. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man not making such right use, Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to the man making such right use, the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by right use.

29. 'And which, brethren, are the Asavas to be abandoned by endurance?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, is patient under cold and heat, under hunger and thirst, under the contact of gad-flies and mosquitoes, of wind and sun, and snakes; he is enduring under abusive words, under bodily suffering, under pains however sharp, rough, severe, unpleasant, disagreeable, and destructive even to life.

30. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who endureth not, Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who endures, the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by endurance.

31. 'And which, brethren, are the Asavas to be abandoned by avoidance?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu wisely reflecting, avoids a rogue elephant, he avoids a furious horse, he avoids a wild bull, he avoids a

mad dog, a snake, a stump in the path, a thorny bramble, a pit, a precipice, a dirty tank or pool. When tempted to sit in a place where one should not sit, or to walk where one should not walk, or to cultivate the acquaintance of bad companions, he is skilled to shun the evil: and wisely reflecting he avoids that, as a place whereon one should not sit, that, as a place wherein one should not walk, those men, as companions that are bad.

32. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who avoideth not, Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who avoids, the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by avoidance.

33. 'And which, brethren, are the Asavas to be abandoned by removal?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, when there has sprung up within him a lustful thought, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be; when there has sprung up within him an angry thought, a malicious thought, some sinful, wrong disposition, that he endureth not, he puts it away, he removes it, he destroys it, he makes it not to be.

34. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who removeth not, Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who removes, the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by removal.

35. 'And which, brethren, are the Asavas to be abandoned by cultivation?

'Herein, brethren, a Bhikkhu, wisely reflecting, cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Mindfulness, dependent on seclusion, dependent on passionlessness, dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing off of thoughtlessness.

36. 'He cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Search after Truth, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Energy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Joy, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Peace, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Earnest Contemplation, he cultivates that part of the higher wisdom called Equanimity—each dependent on the utter ecstasy of contemplation, resulting in the passing

off of thoughtlessness.

37. 'For whereas, brethren, to the man who cultivateth not, Asavas may arise, full of vexation and distress; to him who cultivates, the Asavas, full of vexation and distress, are not.

'These, brethren, are called the Asavas to be abandoned by cultivation.

38. 'And then when a Bhikkhu has by insight put away the Asavas to be abandoned by insight, and by subjugation has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by subjugation, and by right use has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by right use, and by endurance has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by endurance, and by avoidance has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by avoidance, and by removal has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by removal, and by cultivation has put away the Asavas to be abandoned by cultivation—that Bhikkhu, brethren, remains shut in by the subjugation of the Asavas, he has destroyed that Craving Thirst, by thorough penetration of mind he has rolled away every Fetter, and he has made an end of Pain.'

39. Thus spake the Blessed One; and those Bhikkhus, glad at heart, exalted the word of the Blessed One.

End of the Sabbasava Sutta.

THE LAST DAYS OF BUDDHA

CHAPTER I.

1. **THUS HAVE I HEARD.** The Blessed One was once dwelling in Ragagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now at that time Agatasattu, the son of the queen-consort of Videha origin, the king of Magadha, was desirous of attacking the Vaggians; and he said to himself, 'I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!'

2. So he spake to the Brahman Vassakara, the prime-minister of Magadha, and said:

'Come now, O Brahman, do you go to the Blessed One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and enquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort, and vigorous health. Then tell him that Agatasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vaggians, has resolved, "I will root out these Vaggians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vaggians, I will bring these Vaggians to utter ruin!" And bear carefully in mind whatever the Blessed One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue!'

3. Then the Brahman Vassakara hearkened to the words of the king, saying, 'Be it as you say.' And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, he mounted one of them, left Ragagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages, and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Blessed One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, sat down respectfully by his side [and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded].

4. Now at that time the venerable Ananda was standing behind the Blessed One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him: 'Have you heard, Ananda, that the Vaggians hold full and

frequent public assemblies?’

‘Lord, so I have heard,’ replied he.

‘So long, Ananda,’ rejoined the Blessed One, ‘as the Vaggians hold these full and frequent public assemblies; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

[And in like manner questioning Ananda, and receiving a similar reply, the Blessed One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vaggian confederacy.]

‘So long, Ananda, as the Vaggians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vaggians as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vaggian shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may live at ease—so long may the Vaggians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

5. Then the Blessed One addressed Vassakara the Brahman, and said:

‘When I was once staying, O Brahman, at Vesali at the Saranadada Temple, I taught the Vaggians these conditions of welfare; and so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vaggians, so long as the Vaggians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.’

‘We may expect then, answered the Brahman, ‘the welfare and not the decline of the Vaggians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vaggians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance. And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy, and have much to do.’

‘Whatever you think most fitting, O Brahman,’ was the reply. And the Brahman Vassakara, delighted and pleased with the words

**IKEGAMI TEMPLE, SHOWING BOXES CONTAINING
BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES (Japan)**

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of the Blessed One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Go now, Ananda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the Brethren as live in the neighbourhood of Ragagaha.'

And he did so; and returned to the Blessed One, and informed him, saying:

'The company of the Brethren, Lord, is assembled, let the Blessed One do as seemeth to him fit.'

And the Blessed One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the Brethren, and said:

'I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord,' said the Brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he spake as follows:

'So long, O mendicants, as the brethren meet together in full and frequent assemblies—so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the order—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the brethren so train their minds that good and holy men shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease—so long may the brethren be expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as

the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, sinful desires—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way [to Nirvana] because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends, companions, or intimates of sinners—so long as the brethren shall not come to a full stop on their way (to Nirvana) because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

8. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of sin, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

9. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the seven-fold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

10. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the seven-

fold perception due to earnest thought, that is to say, the perception of impermanency, of non-individuality, of corruption, of the danger of sin, of sanctification, of purity of heart, of Nirvana, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

11. 'Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:

'So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of action, speech, and thought amongst the saints, both in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with the upright and the holy, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the order, down even to the mere contents of a begging bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues which (unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished) are productive of freedom, and praised by the wise; which are untarnished by the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts; and which are conducive to high and holy thoughts—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing, both in public and in private, that noble and saving faith which leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

'So long as these six conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are instructed in these six conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

12. And whilst the Blessed One stayed there at Ragagaha on the Vulture's Peak he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set around with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had sojourned at Ragagaha as long as he pleased, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said:

'Come, Ananda, let us go to Ambalatthika.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ananda in assent, and the Blessed One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalatthika.

14. There the Blessed One stayed in the king's house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

15. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Ambalatthika, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Nalanda.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nalanda; and there, at Nalanda, the Blessed One stayed in the Pavarika mango grove.

16. Now the venerable Sariputta came to the place where the Blessed One was, and having saluted him, took his seat respectfully at his side, and said: 'Lord! such faith have I in the Blessed One, that methinks there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether Samana or Brahman, who is greater and wiser than the Blessed One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.'

'Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sariputta: verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Arahats Buddhas, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their doctrine, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what salvation they attained to?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'Of course then thou hast perceived all the Blessed Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Arahats Buddhas comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours]?'

'Not so, O Lord!'

'But at least then, O Sariputta, thou knowest me as the Arahats Buddha now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I

have mentioned]!’

‘Not even that, O Lord!’

‘You see then, Sariputta, that you know not the hearts of the Arahāt Buddhas of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?’

17. ‘O Lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Arahāt Buddhas that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage of the faith. Just, Lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its foundations, strong in its ramparts and toranas, and with one gate alone; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only friends. And he, on going over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. That might well be. Yet all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, Lord, that I know the lineage of the faith. I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the past, putting away all lust, ill-will, sloth, pride, and doubt; knowing all those mental faults which make men weak; training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Arahāt Buddhas of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Blessed One, the Arahāt Buddha of to-day, has [done so] now.’

18. There in the Pavarika mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. ‘Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.’

19. Now when the Blessed One had stayed as long as was convenient at Nalanda, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: ‘Come, Ananda, let us go on to Pataligama.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pataligama.

20. Now the disciples at Pataligama heard of his arrival there, and they went to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest house. And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Then the Pataligama disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest house, bowing to the Blessed One and keeping him on their right as they past him. On arriving there they made the rest house fit in every way for occupation, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Blessed One, and bowing, stood beside him, and said: 'All things are ready, Lord! It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. And the Blessed One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Blessed One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pataligama disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Blessed One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. Then the Blessed One addressed the Pataligama disciples, and said: 'Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of Brahmans, nobles, heads of houses, or Samanas—he enters shyly and confused; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe. This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!'

24. 'Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, Brahmans, heads of houses, or members of the order—he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly, on the dissolution of

the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain of the well-doer.'

25. When the Blessed One had thus taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused them, and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them, saying, 'The night is far spent, O householders. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.' 'Even so, Lord!' answered the disciples of Pataligama, and they rose from their seats, and bowing to the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Blessed One, not long after the disciples of Pataligama had departed thence, entered into his private chamber.

26. At that time Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pataligama to repel the Vaggians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers.

27. And the Blessed One, with his great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pataligama. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ananda: 'Who is it then, Ananda, who is building a fortress at Pataligama?'

'Sunidha and Vassakara, Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vaggians.'

28. They act, Ananda, as if they had consulted with the Tavatimsa angels. [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]: 'And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Patali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares. But three dangers will hang over Patali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension.'

29. Now Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Blessed One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of friendship and civility, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunidha and Vassakara,

the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Blessed One:

'May the venerable Gotama do us the honour of taking the meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.' And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. Then when Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes; and informed the Blessed One, saying:

'The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.'

And the Blessed One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Sunidha and Vassakara, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Blessed One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One gave thanks in these verses:—

'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode
Let him support there good and upright men of self-control.
Let him give gifts to all such deities as may be there.
Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they honour him again;
Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son.
And the man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune he
beholds.'

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate he went out at was called Gotama's gate.

33. But the Blessed One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, while some made rafts of basket-work. Then the Blessed One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, van-

ished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. And the Blessed One beheld the people looking for boats and rafts, and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song:—

‘Thy who cross the ocean drear
 Making a solid path across the pools—
 Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
 These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!’

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER II.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: ‘Come, Ananda, let us go on to Kotigama.’

‘So be it, Lord!’ said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

The Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Kotigama; and there he stayed in the village itself.

2. And at that place the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: ‘It is through not understanding and grasping four Noble Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I!’

‘And what are these four?’

‘The noble truth about sorrow; the noble truth about the cause of sorrow; the noble truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the noble truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these noble truths are grasped and known the craving for existence is rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!’

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:

‘By not seeing the four Noble Truths as they really are,
 Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth;
 When these are grasped, the cause of birth is then removed,
 The root of sorrow rooted out, and there is no more birth.’

4. There too, while staying at Kotigama, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the evils,—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as was convenient at Kotigama, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to the village of Nadika.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed proceeded to the villages of Nadika with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nadika, the Blessed One stayed at the Brick Hall.

6 And the venerable Ananda went to the Blessed One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'The brother named Salha has died at Nadika, Lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nanda has died, Lord, at Nadika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny?' And in the same terms he enquired concerning the devout Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugata, the devout Kakudha, and Kalinga, and Nikata, and Katissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.

7. 'The brother named Salha, Ananda, by the destruction of the great evils has by himself, and in this world, known and realised and attained to Arahatsip, and to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nanda, Ananda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to this world, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, hatred, and delusion has become a Sakadagamin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout woman Sugata, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation. The devout Kakudha, Ananda, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to

return. So also is the case with Kalinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men of Nadika. More than ninety devout men of Nadika, who have died, Ananda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, hatred, and delusion, become Sakadagamins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nadika who have died, Ananda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of final salvation.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ananda, that a human being should die, but that as each one does so you should come to the Buddha, and enquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to the Buddha. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if an elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself, "Hell is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."

9. 'What then, Ananda, is this mirror of truth? It is the consciousness that the elect disciple is in this world possessed of faith in the Buddha—believing the Blessed One to be the Holy One, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Blessed Buddha. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the truth to have been proclaimed by the Blessed One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he (the disciple) is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Blessed One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding—believing this church of the Buddha to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to high and holy thought.'

10. 'This, Ananda, is the way, the mirror of truth, which if an

elect disciple possess he may himself predict of himself: "Hell is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of final salvation."

11. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nadika the Blessed One addressed to the brethren that comprehensive religious discourse on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

12. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Nadika, he addressed Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Vesali.'

'So be it, Lord!' said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesali; and there at Vesali the Blessed One stayed at Ambapali's grove.

13. Now there the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you.'

14. 'And how does a brother become mindful?'

'Herein, O mendicants, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations, let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief arising from the craving which follows our sensation—and so also as he thinks or reasons or feels let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or reasoning, or feeling.'

15. 'And how does a brother become thoughtful?'

'He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out and coming in, in looking and watching in bending in his arm or stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or carrying

his bowl, in eating and drinking, in consuming or tasting, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

‘Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and thoughtful; this is our instruction to you.’

16. Now the courtesan Ambapali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at her mango grove. And ordering a number of magnificent vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and proceeded with her train towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages; there she alighted; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Blessed One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

17. Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Blessed One, and said:

‘May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.’

And the Blessed One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapali the courtesan saw that the Blessed One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she past him, she departed thence.

18. Now the Likkhavis of Vesali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vesali, and was staying at Ambapali’s grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vesali. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments: some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

19. And Ambapali drove up again the young Likkhavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Likkhavis said to Ambapali the courtesan, ‘How is it, Ambapali, that thou drivest up against us thus?’

‘My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow’s meal,’ said she.

‘Ambapali! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,’ said they.

‘My Lords, were you to offer all Vesali with its subject territory,

I would not give up so honourable a feast!

Then the Likkhavis cast up their hands, exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl!' and they went on to Ambapali's grove.

20. When the Blessed One saw the Likkhavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:

'O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Likkhavis, behold this company of the Likkhavis, compare this company of the Likkhavis—even as a company of Tavatimsa gods.'

21. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Likkhavis alighted there, and then went on on foot to the place where the Blessed One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Blessed One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse.

22. Then they instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words, addressed the Blessed One, and said, 'May the Blessed One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow?'

'O Likkhavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapali the courtesan,' was the reply.

Then the Likkhavis cast up their hands, exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango girl! we are outreached by this mango girl!' And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Blessed One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on their right hand as they past him, they departed thence.

23. And at the end of the night Ambapali the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready!'

And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and took his bowl, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapali's dwelling-house was: and when he had come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapali the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused more.

24. And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and ad-

ressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord, I present this mansion to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.' And the Blessed One accepted the gift; and after instructing, and rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence.

25. While at Ambapali's mango grove the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the disciples on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence.

'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation, The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils, that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

26. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he wished at Ambapali's grove, he addressed Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Beluva.'

'So be it, Lord,' said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

27. Now the Blessed One there addressed the brethren, and said: 'O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesali, each according to the place where his friends, intimates, and close companions may live, for the rainy season of vassa. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.'

'So be it, Lord!' said those brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesali, each according to the place where his friends or intimates or close companions lived: whilst the Blessed One stayed even there at Beluva.

28. Now when the Blessed One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and selfposessed, bore them without complaint.

29. Then this thought occurred to the Blessed One, 'It would not be right for me to pass away from existence without addressing the disciples, without taking leave of the order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my

hold on life till the allotted time be come.'

30. And the Blessed One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

31. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover; when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he went out from the monastery on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ananda went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'I have beheld, Lord, how the Blessed One was in health, and I have beheld how the Blessed One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Blessed One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties were no longer clear, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Blessed One would not pass away from existence until at least he had left instructions as touching the order.'

32. 'What, then, Ananda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine: for in respect of the truths, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back. Surely, Ananda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, "The order is dependent upon me," it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathagata, Ananda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the order? I too, O Ananda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ananda, can only with much additional care be made to move along, so, methinks, the body of the Tathagata can only be kept going with much additional care. It is only, Ananda, when the Tathagata, ceasing to attend to any outward thing, or to experience any sensation, becomes plunged in that devout meditation of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathagata is at ease.

33. 'Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth.

Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ananda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

34. 'Herein, O Ananda, let a brother, as he dwells in the body, so regard the body that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from bodily craving—while subject to sensations let him continue so to regard the sensations that he, being strenuous, thoughtful, and mindful, may, whilst in the world, overcome the grief which arises from the sensations—and so, also, as he thinks, or reasons, or feels, let him overcome the grief which arises from the craving due to ideas, or to reasoning, or to feeling.

35. 'And whosoever, Ananda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ananda, among my bhikkhus, who shall reach the very topmost Height!—but they must be anxious to learn.'

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER III.

1. Now the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesali for alms, and when he returned he sat down on the seat prepared for him, and after he had finished eating the rice he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Take up the mat, Ananda; I will go to spend the day at the Kapala Ketiya.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Blessed One.

2. So the Blessed One proceeded to the Kapala Ketiya, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ananda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'How delightful a spot, Ananda, is Vesali, and the Udena Ketiya, and the

Gotamaka Ketiya, and the Sattambaka Ketiya, and the Kapala Ketiya.

3. 'Ananda! whosoever has thought out, developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which had yet to run. Now the Tathagata has thought them out, and thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for a kalpa, or for that portion of the kalpa which has yet to run.'

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Blessed One, the venerable Ananda was incapable of comprehending them; and he besought not the Blessed One, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! Live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!' So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One.

5. A second and a third time did the Blessed One [say the same thing, and a second and a third time was Ananda's heart thus hardened].

6. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'You may leave me, Ananda, awhile, and do whatever seemeth to thee fit.'

'So be it, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed, and rising from his seat he saluted the Blessed One, and passing him on the right, sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ananda had been gone, Mara, the Evil One, approached the Blessed One, and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Blessed One in these words:

'Pass away now, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die. Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the word which the Blessed One spoke when he said: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures,

fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

8. 'And now, Lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away—even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed to men." And now, Lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, Lord, from existence; let the Blessed One now die! The time has come for the Blessed One to pass away!'

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Blessed One addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said: 'O Evil One! make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!'

10. Thus the Blessed One while at the Kapala Ketiya deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his allotted sum of life. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Blessed One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation:

'His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;
With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause!'

11. Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ananda: 'Wonderful indeed and marvelous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?'

12. Then the venerable Ananda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Blessed One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said: 'Wonderful indeed and

marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake?

13. 'Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ananda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight? This great earth, Ananda, is established on water, the water, on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ananda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

14. 'Again, Ananda, a Samana or a Brahman of great (intellectual) power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control; or a god or fairy (devata) of great might and power,—when such a one by intense meditation of the finite idea of earth or the infinite idea of water (has succeeded in realising the comparative value of things) he can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently. These are the second causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Again, Ananda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his temporary form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate or remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

16. 'Again, Ananda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. 'Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause. proximate

mate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Again, Ananda, when a Tathagata passes entirely away with that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ananda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight? Assemblies of nobles, Brahmanas, householders, and Samanas, and the angel hosts of the Guardian Angels, the Great Thirty-Three, Mara, and Brahma.

22. 'Now I call to mind, Ananda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse I used to instruct, incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say, "Who may this be who thus speaks? a man or a god?" Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away; and would say, "Who may this be who has thus vanished away? a man or a god?"'

23. [And in the same words the Blessed One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] 'Now these, Ananda, are the eight assemblies.'

24. 'Now these, Ananda, are the eight positions of mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things]. What are the eight?

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

27. When a man without the subjective idea of form sees ex-

ternally forms which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms that are blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for instance, as the Umma flower is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares which, on whichever side you look at it, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.'

30.-32. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue; and the Kanikara flower, the Bandhu-givaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the Umma flower, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. 'Now these stages of deliverance, Ananda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms], are eight in number. Which are the eight?

34. 'A man possessed with the idea of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

35. 'Without the subjective idea of form, he sees forms externally—this is the second stage of deliverance.

36. 'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent (upon what he sees)—this is the third stage of deliverance.

37. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of resistance, by paying no attention to the idea of distinction, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

38. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches (mentally) and

remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

39. 'By passing quite beyond the mere consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists," reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

40. 'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

41. 'By passing quite beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches (mentally) and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

42. 'Now these, Ananda, are the eight stages of deliverance.

43. 'On one occasion, Ananda, I was resting under the shepherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the river Nerangara immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Mara, the Evil One, came, Ananda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words: "Pass away now, Lord, from existence! Let the Blessed One now die! Now is the time for the Blessed One to pass away!"

44. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ananda, I addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said: "I shall not die, O Evil One! until not only the brethren and sisters of the order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well-trained, ready and learned, versed in the Scriptures, fulfilling all the greater and the lesser duties, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so to spread the wonder-working truth abroad!"

45. "'I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous; wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men!"

46. 'And now again to-day, Ananda, at the Kapala Ketiya, Mara, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me

addressed me [in the same words].

47. 'And when he had thus spoken, Ananda, I answered him and said: "Make thyself happy, the final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!"

48. 'Thus, Ananda, the Tathagata has now to-day at the Kapala Ketiya consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.'

49. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ananda addressed the Blessed One, and said: 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa! live on through the kalpa, O Blessed One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!'

50. 'Enough now, Ananda, beseech not the Tathagata!' was the reply. 'The time for making such request is past.'

51. And again, the second time, the venerable Ananda besought the Blessed One [in the same words. And he received from the Blessed One the same reply].

52. And again, the third time, the venerable Ananda besought the Blessed One [in the same words].

53. 'Hast thou faith, Ananda, in the wisdom of the Tathagata?'
'Even so, Lord!'

'Now why, then, Ananda, dost thou trouble the Tathagata even until the third time?'

54. 'From his own mouth have I heard from the Blessed One, from his own mouth have I received this saying, "Whosoever has thought out, Ananda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathagata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

55. 'Hast thou faith, Ananda?'
'Even so, Lord!'

'Then, O Ananda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathagata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and

thou besoughtest not the Tathagata, saying, "Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ananda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

56. 'On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling at Ragagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ananda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant a spot, Ananda, is Ragagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak. Whosoever has thought out, Ananda, and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathagata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathagata, saying, 'Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the kalpa. Live on, O Blessed One! through the kalpa for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.' If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathagata, the Tathagata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ananda, is the fault, thine is the offence!"

57. 'On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling at that same Ragagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha at the Robbers' Cliff—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhara—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Sitavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasondika—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in Givaka's Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Ragagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī.'

58. 'Now there too, Ananda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ananda, is Ragagaha; how pleasant the Vulture's Peak;

how pleasant the Banyan tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers' Cliff; how pleasant the Sattapanni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhara; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili; how pleasant the mountain cave Sappasonlika in the Sitavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove; how pleasant the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove; how pleasant Givaka's Mango Grove; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakukkhī!

59. "Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathagata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

60. 'On one occasion, Ananda, I was residing here at Vesali at the Udena Ketiya. And there too, Ananda, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ananda, is Vesali; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a means of (mental) advancement and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run." Now the Tathagata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.'

61. 'On one occasion, Ananda, I was dwelling here at Vesali at the Gotamaka Ketiya—on one occasion here at Vesali at the Sattamba Ketiya—on one occasion here at Vesali at the Bahuputta Ketiya—on one occasion here at Vesali at the Sarandada Ketiya [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ananda, in the same words].

62. 'And now to-day, Ananda, at the Kapala Ketiya, I spoke to thee, and said: "How pleasant, Ananda, is Vesali; how pleasant the Udena Ketiya; how pleasant the Gotamaka Ketiya; how pleasant the Sattamba Ketiya; how pleasant the Bahuputta Ketiya; how pleasant the Sarandada Ketiya. Whosoever, Ananda, has thought out and developed, practised, accumulated, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to saintship, and so mastered them as to be able to

use them as a means of (mental) advancement, and as a basis for edification—he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run. Now the Tathagata has thought and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for a kalpa, or for that portion of a kalpa which has yet to run.”

63. ‘But now, Ananda, have I not formerly declared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, Ananda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! And this mortal being, Ananda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathagata. The remaining sum of life has been surrendered by him. Verily, the word has gone forth from the Tathagata, saying, “The final extinction of the Tathagata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!” That the Tathagata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying—this can no wise be!’

64. ‘Come, Ananda, let us go to the Kutagara Hall, to the Mahavana.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded, with Ananda with him, to the Mahavana to the Kutagara Hall; and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said:

‘Go now, Ananda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesali.’

‘Even so, Lord,’ said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesali, he went to the Blessed One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Blessed One, and said:

‘Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Blessed One do even as seemeth to him fit.’

65. Then the Blessed One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said:

‘Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

‘Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?’

They are these:

- The four earnest meditations.
- The fourfold great struggle against sin.
- The four roads to saintship.
- The five moral powers.
- The five organs of spiritual sense.
- The seven kinds of wisdom, and
- The noble eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which, when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!

66. And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said:

‘Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying, “All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathagata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathagata will die!”

‘My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close:

I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone!

Be earnest then, O brethren! holy, full of thought!

Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth and law,
Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief.'

End of the Third Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Now the Blessed One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesali for alms: and when he had passed through Vesali, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesali with an elephant look and addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'This will be the last time, Ananda, that the Tathagata will behold Vesali. Come, Ananda, let us go on to Bhanda-gama.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Bhanda-gama; and there the Blessed One stayed in the village itself.

2. There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It is through not understanding and grasping four truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.'

'And what are these four? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realised and known, when noble meditation is realised and known, when noble wisdom is realised and known, when noble freedom is realised and known—then is the craving for existence rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.'

3. Thus spake the Blessed One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the teacher said:

'Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—
These are the truths realised by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.
The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, must die!'

4. There too, while staying at Bhanda-gama, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious discourse with the brethren on the

nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

5. Now when the Blessed One had remained at Bhanda-gama as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Hatthi-gama.'

'Even so, Lord!' said Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

Then the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Hatthi-gama.

6. [And in similar words it is then related how the Blessed One went on to Amba-gama, to Gambugama, and to Bhogo-nagara.]

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Blessed One stayed at the Ananda Ketiya.

There the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great References. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the brethren, in assent, to the Blessed One, and the Blessed One spoke as follows:

8. 'In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus: "From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother?" Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Reference.

9. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren." This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Reference.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus: "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders of the order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Reference.

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say, "In such and such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in

the regulations of the order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the order. If when so compared they do not harmonise with the scripture, and do not fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Blessed One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonise with the scripture and fit in with the rules of the order, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is the word of the Blessed One, and has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should receive as the fourth Great Reference.'

12. There too, the Blessed One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren on the nature of upright conduct, and of earnest contemplation, and of intelligence. 'Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from the great evils—that is to say, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance.'

13. Now when the Blessed One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gama, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Pava.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pava.

And there at Pava the Blessed One stayed at the Mango Grove of Kunda, who was by family a smith.

14. Now Kunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Blessed One had come to Pava, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And Kunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Blessed One instructed,

aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Blessed One and said: 'May the Blessed One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow.'

And the Blessed One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Then seeing that the Blessed One had consented, Kunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Blessed One, and keeping him on his right hand as he past him, departed thence.

17. Now at the end of the night, Kunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. And he announced the hour to the Blessed One, saying, 'The hour, Lord, has come, and the meal is ready.'

18. And the Blessed One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Kunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: 'As to the dried boar's flesh you have made ready, serve me with it, Kunda; and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

'Even so, Lord!' said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the dried boar's flesh he had made ready he served to the Blessed One; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the order.

19. Now the Blessed One addressed Kunda, the worker in metals, and said: 'Whatever dried boar's flesh, Kunda, is left over to thee, that bury in a hole. I see no one, Kunda, on earth nor in Mara's heaven, nor in Brahma's heaven, no one among Samanas and Brahmanas, among gods and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be assimilated, save by the Tathagata.'

'Even so, Lord!' said Kunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And whatever dried boar's flesh remained over, that he buried in a hole.

20. And he went to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Kunda, the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Blessed One then rose from his seat and departed

thence.

21. Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Kunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and selfpossessed, bore it without complaint.

22. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Come, Ananda, let us go on to Kusinara.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

23. When he had eaten Kunda's food,
 The copper-smith's—thus have I heard—
 He bore with fortitude the pain,
 The sharp pain even unto death!
 And from the dried flesh of the boar, as soon as he had eaten
 it,
 There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
 Then after nature was relieved the Blessed One announced
 and said:
 'I now am going on to Kusinara.'

24. Now the Blessed One went aside from the path to the foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, Ananda, the robe; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ananda, and must rest awhile!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

25. And the Blessed One seated himself on the seat prepared for him; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.'

26. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

27. Again the second time the Blessed One addressed the ven-

erable Ananda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.'

28. And again the second time the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: 'But just now, Lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, Lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Blessed One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.'

29. Again the third time the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Fetch me, I pray you, Ananda, some water. I am thirsty, Ananda, and would drink.'

30. 'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ananda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

31. Then Ananda thought: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathagata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

32. And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Blessed One; and when he had come where the Blessed One was he said to him: 'How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of Tathagata! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was just now become shallow and flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Blessed One drink the water! Let the Happy One drink the water!'

Then the Blessed One drank of the water.

33. Now at that time a man named Pukkusa, a young Mallian, a disciple of Alara Kalama's, was passing along the high road from Kusinara to Pava.

34. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Blessed One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there he saluted the Blessed One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And

when he was seated Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!'

35. 'Formerly, Lord, Alara Kalama was once walking along the high road; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, Lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Alara Kalama. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Alara Kalama was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Alara Kalama:

"But, Lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by?"

"No, indeed, sir, I saw them not."

"But, Lord, did you hear the sound of them?"

"No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound."

"But, Lord, were you then asleep?"

"No, sir, I was not asleep."

"But, Lord, were you then conscious?"

"Yes, I was conscious, sir."

"So that you, Lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, Lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them!"

"It is even so, sir."

36. 'Then though that man: "How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him."

'And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Alara Kalama, he departed thence.'

37. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing?"

38. 'What in comparison, Lord, can these five hundred carts do,

TEMPLE OF THE 500 GENII (China)

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or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts. That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man being conscious and awake should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

39. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Atuma, and was at the Threshing-floor. And at that time the falling rain begun to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Atuma, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.

40. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side.

41. 'And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man:

"Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together?"

"But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, Lord, were you?"

"I, sir, have been here all the while."

"But, Lord, did you see it?"

"I, sir, saw nothing."

"But, Lord, did you hear it?"

"I, sir, heard nothing."

"Were you then, Lord, asleep?"

"I, sir, was not asleep."

"Were you then conscious, Lord?"

"Even so, sir."

"So that you, Lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing."

“That is so, sir.”

42. ‘Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man:

“How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm!—so that a man being conscious and awake neither sees nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.” And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me with the customary demonstrations of respect.’

43. And when he had thus spoken Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words: ‘Now I, Lord, as to the faith that I had in Alara Kalama, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!’

44. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man, and said: ‘Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.’

‘So be it, sir!’ said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

45. And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Blessed One, saying, ‘Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Blessed One show me favour and accept it at my hands!’

‘In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ananda in one.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Blessed One; and in one he robed the Blessed One, and in one, Ananda.

46. Then the Blessed One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and

aroused and incited and gladdened by the Blessed One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Blessed One; and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

47. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ananda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Blessed One, and when it was so placed on the body of the Blessed One it appeared to have lost its splendour!

48. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Blessed One should be so clear, so exceeding bright! For when I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Blessed One, lo! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour!'

49. 'It is even so, Ananda. Ananda, there are two occasions on which the colour of the skin of a Tathagata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two?

50. 'On the night, Ananda, on which a Tathagata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathagata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

51. 'And now this day, Ananda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinara, in the Sala Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sala trees, the utter passing away of the Tathagata will take place. Come, Ananda! Let us go on to the river Kakuttha.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

52. The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
 All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
 Clad on with them the Master then
 Shone forth in colour like to gold!

53. Now the Blessed One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakuttha; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

54. And when he was come there he addressed the venerable

Kundaka, and said: 'Fold, I pray you, Kundaka, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Kundaka, and would lie down.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Kundaka, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

55. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other; and calm and self-possessed, he meditated on the idea of rising up again in due time. And the venerable Kundaka seated himself there in front of the Blessed One.

56. The Buddha to Kakuttha's river came,
Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow,
He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
The Buddha without equal in the world!
When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
There spake he to the brother Kundaka:
'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
Cheered by the Holy One, he quickly spread
The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
The Master laid him down, wearied and worn;
And there, before him, Kunda took his seat.

57. And the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'Now it may happen, Ananda, that some one should stir up remorse in Kunda the smith, by saying: "This is evil of thee, Kunda, and loss to thee in that when the Tathagata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died." Any such remorse, Ananda, in Kunda the smith should be checked by saying, "This is good to thee, Kunda, and gain to thee, in that when the Tathagata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Blessed One, Kunda, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying, "These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other—and which are the two? The offering of food which, when a Tathagata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathagata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any

others. There has been laid up by Kunda the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.'” In this way, Ananda, should be checked any remorse in Kunda the smith.’

58. Then the Blessed One perceiving how the matter stood, uttered, even at that time, this hymn of exultation:

‘To him who gives shall virtue be increased;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise;
The righteous man casts off all sinfulness,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all delusion, doth to Nirvana reach!’

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing the Episode of Alara.

CHAPTER V.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: ‘Come, Ananda, let us go on to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinara, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

2. And the Blessed One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinara, on the further side of the river Hiranyavati: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ananda, and said:

3. ‘Spread over for me, I pray you, Ananda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sala trees. I am weary, Ananda, and would lie down.’

‘Even so, Lord!’ said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sala trees. And the Blessed One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

4. Now at that time the twin Sala trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; and all over the body of the Tathagata these dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of

reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandarava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathagata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'The twin Sala trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathagata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandarava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathagata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!'

6. 'Now it is not thus, Ananda, that the Tathagata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathagata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ananda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts; and thus, Ananda, should it be taught.'

7. Now at that time the venerable Upavana was standing in front of the Blessed One, fanning him. And the Blessed One was not pleased with Upavana, and he said to him: 'Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!'

8. Then this thought sprung up in the mind of the venerable Ananda: 'The venerable Upavana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not

pleased with Upavana, and speaks thus with him?

9. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: 'The venerable Upavana has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Blessed One. And now, at the last moment, the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and has said to him, "Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me!" What may be the cause and what the reason that the Blessed One is not pleased with Upavana, and speaks thus with him?'

10. 'In great numbers, Ananda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathagata. For twelve leagues, Ananda, around the Sala Grove of the Mallas, the Upavatana of Kusinara, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits. And the spirits, Ananda, are murmuring, and say, "From afar have we come to behold the Tathagata. Few and far between are the Tathagatas, the Arahats Buddhas who appear in the world: and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathagata will take place; and this eminent brother stands in front of the Tathagata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathagata;" thus, Ananda, do the spirits murmur.'

11. 'But of what kind of spirits is the Blessed One thinking?'

12. 'There are spirits, Ananda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!"'

13. 'There are spirits, too, Ananda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight!"'

14. 'But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saving which begins, "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!"]'

15. 'In times past, Lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathagata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One. But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Blessed One.'

16. 'There are these four places, Ananda, which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe. Which are the four?

17. 'The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathagata was born!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

18. 'The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathagata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

19. 'The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathagata!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

20. 'The place, Ananda, at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathagata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!" is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence and awe.

21. 'And there will come, Ananda, to such spots, believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, and will say, "Here was the Tathagata born!" or, "Here did the Tathagata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!" or, "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathagata!" or, "Here the Tathagata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!"

22. 'And they, Ananda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

23. 'How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?'

'Don't see them, Ananda.'

'But if we should see them, what are we to do?'

'Abstain from speech, Ananda.'

'But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?'

'Keep wide awake, Ananda.'

24. 'What are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?'

'Hinder not yourselves, Ananda, by honouring the remains of the Tathagata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ananda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ananda, among the nobles, among the Brahmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathagata; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathagata.'

25. 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so Ananda, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

26. 'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ananda, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a dagaba to the king of kings. This, Ananda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ananda, should they treat the remains of the Tathagata. At the four cross roads a dagaba should be erected to the Tathagata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

27. 'These men, Ananda, worthy of a dagaba, are four in number. Which are the four?'

'A Tathagata, or Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dagaba. A Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a dagaba. A true hearer of the Tathagata is worthy of a dagaba. A king of kings is worthy of a dagaba.

28. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a dagaba?'

'At the thought, Ananda, "This is the dagaba of that Blessed One, of that Arahāt-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a Tathagata, an Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dagaba.'

29. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a Pakkeka-Buddha worthy of a dagaba?

'At the thought, Ananda, "This is the dagaba of that Blessed One, of that Pakkeka-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a Pakkeka-Buddha is worthy of a dagaba.

30. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, worthy of a dagaba?

'At the thought, Ananda, "This is the dagaba of that true hearer of the Blessed Arahāt-Buddha," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a true hearer of the Blessed One, the Arahāt-Buddha, is worthy of a dagaba.

31. 'And on account of what circumstance, Ananda, is a king of kings worthy of a dagaba?

'At the thought, Ananda, "This is the dagaba of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness," the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ananda, that a king of kings is worthy of a dagaba.

'These four, Ananda, are the persons worthy of a dagaba.'

32. 'Now the venerable Ananda went into the Vihara, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: "Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!"'

33. Now the Blessed One called the brethren, and said: 'Where, then, brethren, is Ananda?'

The venerable Ananda, Lord, has gone into the Vihara, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought: 'Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!'

34. And the Blessed One called a certain brother, and said: 'Go now, brother, and call Ananda in my name, and say, "Brother Ananda, the Master calls for thee."'

'Even so, Lord!' said that brother, in assent, to the Blessed One. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was; and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ananda: 'Brother Ananda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Blessed One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

35. Then the Blessed One said to the venerable Ananda, as he sat there by his side: 'Enough, Ananda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, Ananda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ananda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ananda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the great evils—from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion, and from ignorance!'

36. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Whosoever, brethren, have been Arahāt-Buddhas through the long ages of the past, there were servitors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ananda has been to me. And whosoever, brethren, shall be Arahāt-Buddhas in the long ages of the future, there shall be servi-

tors just as devoted to those Blessed Ones as Ananda has been to me.

37. 'He is a wise man, brethren,—is Ananda. He knows when it is the right time for him to come and visit the Tathagata, and when it is the right time for the brethren and sisters of the order, for devout men and devout women, for a king, or for a king's ministers, for other teachers or their disciples, to come and visit the Tathagata.

38. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ananda. Which are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

39. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or Brahman, or heads of houses, or Samanas should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

40. 'Just so, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ananda.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the order, or of the sisters of the order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ananda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ananda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ananda is silent.

'Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities that are in Ananda.'

41. When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One:

'Let not the Blessed One die in this little wattle and daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For.

Lord, there are other great cities, such as Kampa, Ragagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Blessed One die in one of them. There are many wealthy nobles and Brahmans and heads of houses, believers in the Tathagata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathagata.'

42. 'Say not so, Ananda! Say not so, Ananda, that this is but a small wattle and daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ananda, there was a king, by name Maha-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinara, Ananda, was the royal city of king Maha-Sudassana, under the name of Kusavati, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

43. 'That royal city Kusavati, Ananda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ananda, as the royal city of the gods, Alakamanda by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ananda, was the royal city Kusavati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

44. 'Both by day and by night, Ananda, the royal city Kusavati resounded with the ten cries; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong; and lastly, with the cry, "Eat, drink, and be merry!"

45. 'Go now, Ananda, and enter into Kusinara, and inform the Mallas of Kusinara, saying, "this day, O Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathagata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vasetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, 'In our own village did the death of our Tathagata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathagata in his last hours.'"

'Even so, Lord,' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One; and he robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered into Kusinara attended by another member of the order.

46. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinara were assembled in the council hall on some public affair.

And the venerable Ananda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinara; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'This day, O Vasetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathagata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vasetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying, "In our own village did the death of our Tathagata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathagata in his last hours."'

47. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ananda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and stretched forth their arms and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon will the Blessed One die! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!'

48. Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and their wives, being grieved and sad and afflicted at heart, went to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ananda was.

49. Then the venerable Ananda thought: 'If I allow the Mallas of Kusinara, one by one, to pay their respects to the Blessed One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinara will not have been presented to the Blessed One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinara to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Blessed One, saying, "Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One."'

50. And the venerable Ananda caused the Mallas of Kusinara to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Blessed One, and said: 'Lord! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Blessed One.'

51. And after this manner the venerable Ananda presented all the Mallas of Kusinara to the Blessed One in the first watch of the night.

52. Now at that time a mendicant named Subhadda, who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinara. And the mendicant Subhadda heard the news: 'This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.'

53. Then thought the mendicant Subhadda: 'This have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathagatas appear in the world, the Arahata Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

54. Then the mendicant Subhadda went to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana of Kusinara, to the place where the venerable Ananda was.

55. And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ananda: 'Thus have I heard from fellow mendicants of mine, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said: "Sometimes and full seldom do Tathagatas appear in the world, the Arahata Buddhas." Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ananda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!'

56. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ananda said to the mendicant Subhadda: 'Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathagata. The Blessed One is weary.'

57. And again the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]; and the third time the mendicant Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

58. Now the Blessed One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ananda with the mendicant Subhadda. And the Blessed One called the venerable Ananda, and said: 'It is enough, Ananda! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ananda, may be allowed to see the Tathagata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.'

59. Then the venerable Ananda said to Subhadda, the mendicant: 'Enter in, friend Subhadda; for the Blessed One gives you leave.'

60. Then Subhadda, the mendicant, went in to the place where the Blessed One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'The Brahmans by saintliness of life, Gotama, who are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit, Purana Kassapa, Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkayana of the Pakudha tree, Sangaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nig-antha of the Natha clan—have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things? or have they not? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not?'

61. 'Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Ananda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak.'

'Even so, Lord!' said the mendicant Subhadda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

62. And the Blessed One spake: 'In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first or of the second or of the third or of the fourth degree. And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the noble eightfold path is found, is found the man of true saintliness of the first and the second and the third and the fourth degree. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the noble eightfold path, and in it alone, Subhadda, is the man of true saintliness. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahats.

'But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realms of virtue and of truth,
And outside these no really "saint" can be!

'Yea, not of the first, nor of the second, nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of those who have reached the highest fruit.'

63. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the Blessed One: 'Most excellent, Lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And I, even I, betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures!'

64. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

65. 'If, Lord, whosoever that has formerly been a follower of another doctrine and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the order!'

66. But the Blessed One called the venerable Ananda, and said: 'As it is, Ananda, receive Subhadda into the order!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the Blessed One.

67. And Subhadda, the mendicant, said to the venerable Ananda: 'Great is your gain, friend Ananda, great is your good fortune, friend Ananda, that you all have been sprinkled with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the hands of the Master himself!'

68. So Subhadda, the mendicant, was received into the higher grade of the order under the Blessed One; and from immediately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And e'er long he attained to that supreme goal of the higher life for the sake of which men go out from all and every household gain and comfort to become houseless wanderers—yea, that supreme goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realise, and to see face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end, that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

69. So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahats; and he was the last disciple whom the Blessed One himself converted.

End of the Hlrannavatiya portion, being the Fifth Portion for Recitation.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ananda, and said: 'It may be, Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise, "The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more!" But it is not thus, Ananda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.'

2. 'Ananda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet, that is, of "Avuso" (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title "Friend." But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as "Lord" or as "Venerable Sir."'

3. 'When I am gone, Ananda, let the order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts.'

4. 'When I am gone, Ananda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Khanna.'

'But what, Lord, is the higher penalty?'

'Let Khanna say whatever he may like, Ananda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him.'

5. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him."'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. And again the second and the third time the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, "Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him."'

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

7. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.'

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

8. And the venerable Ananda said to the Blessed One: 'How wonderful a thing is it, Lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way!'

9. 'It is out of the fulness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ananda! But, Ananda, the Tathagata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way! For even the most backward, Ananda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation.'

10. Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in

all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"

This was the last word of the Tathagata!

11. Then the Blessed One entered into the first stage of deep meditation. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of deep meditation he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

12. Then the venerable Ananda said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'O my Lord, O Anuruddha, the Blessed One is dead!'

'Nay! brother Ananda, the Blessed One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be!'

13. Then the Blessed One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of deep meditation he entered the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation. And passing out of the last stage of deep meditation he immediately expired.

14. When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

15. When the Blessed One died, Brahma Sahampati, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

'They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
Aside their complex form—that aggregation
Of mental and material qualities,
That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
Their fleeting individuality !
E'en as the teacher—being such a one,
Unequalled among all the men that are,
Successor of the prophets of old time,
Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear—
Hath died !'

16. When the Blessed One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

'They're transient all, each being's parts and powers,
Growth is their nature, and decay.
They are produced, they are dissolved again :
And then is best, when they have sunk to rest !'

17. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :

'When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvana's tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart !
All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was
His last deliverance from the bonds of life !'

18. When the Blessed One died, the venerable Ananda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :

'Then was there terror !
Then stood the hair on end !
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died !'

19. When the Blessed One died, of those of the brethren who were not free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong to the ground, rolling to and fro in

anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: 'Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved]?'

20. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said: 'Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How, then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us.

'But of what kind of spirits is the Lord, the venerable Anuruddha, thinking?'

21. 'There are spirits, brother Ananda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

'There are spirits, too, Ananda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!"

'But the spirits who are free from passion hear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins, "Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [that such a being should not be dissolved]?"'

22. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ananda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ananda: 'Go now, brother Ananda, into Kusinara and inform the Mallas of Kusinara, saying,

'The Blessed One, O Vasetthas, is dead: do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'

'Even so, Lord!' said the venerable Ananda, in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinara with one of the brethren as an attendant.

23. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinara were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ananda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinara; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying, 'The Blessed One, O Vasetthas, is dead; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!'

24. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ananda, the Mallas, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: 'Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!'

25. Then the Mallas of Kusinara gave orders to their attendants, saying, 'Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinara!'

26. And the Mallas of Kusinara took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sala Grove of the Mallas, where the body of the Blessed One lay. There they past the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon.

27. Then the Mallas of Kusinara thought:

'It is much too late to burn the body of the Blessed One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.' And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Blessed One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they past the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

28. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinara thought:

'Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!'

29. And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

30. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Blessed One, are unable to lift it up?'

'It is because you, O Vasetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

31. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'Your purpose, O Vasetthas, in this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, Vasetthas, is this, Let us carry the body of the Blessed One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,—paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,—let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuta-bandhana, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

32. Then immediately all Kusinara down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with Mandarava flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinara upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Blessed One, with dance and song and music, with garlands and with perfumes, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the

north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called Makuta-bandhana; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Blessed One.

33. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Ananda: 'What should be done, Lord, with the remains of the Tathagata?'

'As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vasetthas, should they treat the remains of a Tathagata.'

'And how, Lord, do they treat the remains of a king of kings?'

'They wrap the body of a king of kings, Vasetthas, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a dagaba to the king of kings. This, Vasetthas, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

'And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vasetthas, should they treat the remains of the Tathagata. At the four cross roads a dagaba should be erected to the Tathagata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.'

34. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying, 'Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas!'

35. Then the Mallas of Kusinara wrapped the body of the Blessed One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth,—and so on till they had wrapped the body of the Blessed One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Blessed One.

36. Now at that time the venerable Maha Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pava to Kusinara with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And

the venerable Maha Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

37. Just at that time a certain naked ascetic who had picked up a Mandarava flower in Kusinara was coming along the high road to Pava.

38. And the venerable Maha Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to the naked ascetic:

‘O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?’

‘Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandarava flower.’

39. And immediately of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought: ‘Too soon has the Blessed One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away from existence! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: ‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that they should not be dissolved?’

40. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age, was seated there in their company.

And Subhadda the old addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Enough, brethren! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told, “This beseems you, this beseems you not.” But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!’

41. But the venerable Maha Kassapa addressed the brethren, and said: ‘Enough, my brethren! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Blessed One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them? How then, brethren, can this be possible—that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organised contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist!’

42. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

43. Then the Mallas of Kusinara said to the venerable Anuruddha: 'What, Lord, can be the reason, and what the cause, that four chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments, with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pile of the Blessed One, are unable to set it on fire?'

'It is because you, O Vasetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.'

44. 'But what, Lord, is the purpose of the spirits?'

'The purpose of the spirits, O Vasetthas, is this: That venerable brother Maha Kassapa is now journeying along the high road from Pava to Kusinara with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred of the brethren. The funeral pile of the Blessed One shall not catch fire, until the venerable Maha Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the sacred feet of the Blessed One.'

'Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, Lord, let it be!'

45. Then the venerable Maha Kassapa went on to Makuta-bandhana of Kusinara, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pile of the Blessed One was. And when he had come up to it, he arranged his robe on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands he thrice walked reverently round the pile; and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

46. And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One.

47. And when the homage of the venerable Maha Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pile of the Blessed One caught fire of itself.

48. Now as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind.

Just as one sees no soot or ash when glue or oil is burned; so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and

the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen: and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

49. And when the body of the Blessed One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters (beneath the earth), and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One. The Mallas of Kusinara also brought water scented with all kinds of perfumes, and extinguished the funeral pile of the Blessed One.

50. Then the Mallas of Kusinara surrounded the bones of the Blessed One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

51. Now the king of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the king of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I too am of the soldier caste. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

52. And the Likkhavis of Vesali heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Likkhavis of Vesali sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

53. And the Sakiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Sakiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

54. And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

56. And the Brahman of Vethadipa heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara. And the Brahman of Vethadipa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and I am a Brahman. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!'

57. And the Mallas of Pava heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the Mallas of Pava sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

58. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinara spoke to the assembled brethren, saying, 'The Blessed One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Blessed One!'

59. When they had thus spoken, Dona the Brahman addressed the assembled brethren, and said:

'Hear, reverend sirs, one single word from me.
Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
Unseemly is it that over the division
Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
Strife should arise, and wounds, and war!
Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
Wide spread let Thupas rise in every land
That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust!'

60. 'Do thou then, O Brahman, thyself divide the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division.'

'Be it so, sir!' said Dona, in assent, to the assembled brethren.

And he divided the remains of the Blessed One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them: 'Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.'

And they gave the vessel to Dona the Brahman.

61. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana heard the news that the Blessed One had died at Kusinara.

Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying, 'The Blessed One belonged to the soldier caste, and we too are of the soldier caste. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Blessed One. Over the remains of the Blessed One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying, 'There is no portion of the remains of the Blessed One left over. The remains of the Blessed One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

62. Then the king of Magadha, Agatasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a mound in Ragagaha over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Likkhavis of Vesali made a mound in Vesali over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Bulis of Allakappa made a mound in Allakappa over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Koliyas of Ramagama made a mound in Ramagama over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And Vethadipaka the Brahman made a mound in Vethadipa over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Pava made a mound in Pava over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinara made a mound in Kusinara over the remains of the Blessed One, and held a feast.

And Dona the Brahman made a mound over the vessel in which the body has been burnt, and held a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pippalivana made a mound over the embers, and held a feast.

Thus were there eight mounds [Thupas] for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be.

- [63. Eight measures of relics there were of him of the far-seeing
eye,
Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are wor-
shipped,
And one measure in Ramagama, by the kings of the serpent
race.
One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in Gand-
hara's city,
One in the Kalinga realm, and one more by the Naga race.
Through their glory the bountiful earth is made bright with
offerings painless
For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best honoured
by those who are honoured,
By gods and by Nagas and kings, yea, thus by the noblest
of monarchs—
Bow down with clasped hands!
Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through hundreds of
ages!]

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

TRANSLATED BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

DHAMMAPADA

CHAPTER I.

THE TWIN-VERSES

1. **ALL THAT WE ARE** is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, a pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

2. All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.

3. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease.

4. 'He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,'—in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.

5. For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.

6. The world does not know that we must all come to an end here;—but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.

7. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mara (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

8. He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him Mara will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9. He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards also temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

10. But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.

11. They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth,

never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.

12. They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.

13. As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.

14. As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.

15. The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil of his own work.

16. The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.

17. The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done; he suffers more when going on the evil path.

18. The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done; he is still more happy when going on the good path.

19. The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.

20. The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

CHAPTER II.

ON EARNESTNESS

21. Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvana), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.

22. Those who are advanced in earnestness, having understood this clearly, delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the elect).

23. These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvana, the highest happiness.

24. If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful,

if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,—then his glory will increase.

25. By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm.

26. Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.

27. Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative, obtains ample joy.

28. When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, serene he looks upon the toiling crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.

29. Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the back.

30. By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.

31. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.

32. A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nirvana.

CHAPTER III.

THOUGHT

33. As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back.

34. As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mara (the tempter).

35. It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth; a tamed mind brings happiness.

36. Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded bring happiness.

37. Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about

alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Mara (the tempter).

38. If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.

39. If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.

40. Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.

41. Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.

42. Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind will do us greater mischief.

43. Not a mother, not a father will do so much, nor any other relative; a well-directed mind will do us greater service.

CHAPTER IV.

FLOWERS

44. Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?

45. The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower.

46. He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mara, and never see the king of death.

47. Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

48. Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.

49. As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village.

50. Not the perversities of others, not their sins of commission

or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.

51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.

52. But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.

53. As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.

54. The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of Tagara and Mallika flowers; but the odour of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.

55. Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassiki, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.

56. Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandal-wood;—the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.

57. Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emancipated through true knowledge, Mara, the tempter, never finds the way.

58, 59. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness.

CHAPTER V.

THE FOOL

60. Long is the night to him who is awake; long is a mile to him who is tired; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law.

61. If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey; there is no companionship with a fool.

62. 'These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me,' with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth?

63. The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.

64. If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will

perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.

66. Fools of little understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits.

67. That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face.

68. No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.

69. As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief.

70. Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet is he not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.

71. An evil deed, like newly-drawn milk, does not turn (suddenly); smouldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.

72. And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay, it cleaves his head.

73. Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people!

74. 'May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done,' thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.

75. 'One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvana;' if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WISE MAN (PANDITA)

76. If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him.

77. Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper!—he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.

78. Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of

men.

79. He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect (Ariyas).

80. Well-makers lead (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.

81. As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.

82. Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.

83. Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do not prattle, longing for pleasure; whether touched by happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated or depressed.

84. If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.

85. Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arhats); the other people here run up and down the shore.

86. But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome.

87, 88. A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu). After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.

89. Those whose mind is well grounded in the (seven) elements of knowledge, who without clinging to anything, rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VENERABLE (ARHAT)

90. There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

91. They depart with their thoughts well-collected, they are not

happy in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

92. Men who have no riches, who live on recognized food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

93. He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.

94. The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites.

95. Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt; he is like a lake without mud; no new births are in store for him.

96. His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.

97. The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.

98. In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arahanta) dwell, that place is delightful.

99. Forests are delightful; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THOUSANDS

100. Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

101. Even though a Gatha (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gatha is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

102. Though a man recite a hundred Gathas made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.

103. If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.

104, 105. One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even god, a Gandharva, not Mara with Brahman could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.

106. If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than a sacrifice for a hundred years.

107. If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.

108. Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter (a farthing); reverence shown to the righteous is better.

109. He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz. life, beauty, happiness, power.

110. But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting.

111. And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.

112. And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.

113. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and end.

114. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.

115. And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law.

CHAPTER IX.

EVIL

116. If a man would hasten towards the good, he keeps his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.

117. If a man commits a sin, let him do it again; let him delight in sin: pain is the outcome of evil.

118. If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: happiness is the outcome of good.

119. Even an evil-doer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evil-doer see evil.

120. Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.

121. Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.

122. Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.

123. Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth, avoids a dangerous road; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

124. He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.

125. If a man offends a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.

126. Some people are born again; evil-doers go to hell; righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvana.

127, 128. Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal).

CHAPTER X.

PUNISHMENT

129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life; remember, that thou are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.

131. He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.

132. He who seeking his own happiness does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.

133. Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee.

134. If, like shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvana; contention is not known to thee.

135. As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so does Age and death drive the life of men.

136. A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire.

137. He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states:

138. He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,

139. Or a misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,

140. Or lightning-fire will burn his houses; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.

141. Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.

142. He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquility, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brahmana, an ascetic (sramana), a friar (bhikshu).

143. Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well-trained horse the whip?

144. Like a well-trained horse when touched by the whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful.

145. Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

CHAPTER XI.

OLD AGE

146. How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?

147. Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!

148. This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.

149. Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them?

150. After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.

151. The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction,—thus do the good say to the good.

152. A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.

153, 154. Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I shall have to run through a course of many births, so long as I do not find (him); and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the Eternal (*visankhara*, *nirvana*), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

155. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.

156. Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

CHAPTER XII.

SELF.

157. If a man holds himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful.

158. Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.

159. If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue (others); one's own self is indeed difficult to subdue.

160. Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.

161. The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks a precious stone.

162. He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.

163. Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.

164. The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arhat), of the elect (Ariya), of the virtuous, and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the Kathaka reed.

165. By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another.

166. Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be attentive to his duty.

CAPTER XIII.

THE WORLD

167. Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.

168. Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue!

The virtuous rest in bliss in this world and in the next.

169. Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.

170. Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.

171. Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.

172. He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

173. He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds.

174. This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.

175. The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous power; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mara and his train.

176. If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.

177. The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.

178. Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BUDDHA (THE AWAKENED)

179. He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

180. He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?

181. Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world).

182. Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law, difficult is the

birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).

183. Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is teaching of (all) the Awakened.

184. The Awakened call patience the highest penance, long suffering the highest Nirvana; for he is not an anchorite (pravragita) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (sramana) who insults others.

185. Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,—this is the teaching of the Awakened.

186. There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise;

187. Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.

188. Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

189. But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge.

190. He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law, and the Church; he who, with clear understanding sees the four holy truths:—

191. Viz. pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain;—

192. That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.

193. A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.

194. Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.

195, 196. He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils), and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

CHAPTER XV.

HAPPINESS

197. Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among

men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred!

198. Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!

199. Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!

200. Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

201. Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.

202. There is no fire like passion; here is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

203. Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvana, the highest happiness.

204. Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvana the highest happiness.

205. He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.

206. The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.

207. He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk.

208. Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLEASURE

209. He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.

210. Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.

211. Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing, and hate nothing, have no fetters.

212. From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.

213. From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

214. From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.

215. From love comes grief, from love comes fear; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.

216. From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.

217. He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.

218. He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvana) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called *urdhvamsrotas* (carried upwards by the stream).

219. Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.

220. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other;—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANGER

221. Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.

222. He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.

223. Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!

224. Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.

225. The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvana), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.

226. Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvana, their passions will come to an end.

227. This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day : 'They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little ; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.'

228. There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.

229, 230. But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue, who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambu river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman.

231. Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue!

232. Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue!

233. Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind!

234. The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IMPURITY.

235. Thou art now like a scar leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee ; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

236. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariva).

237. Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.

238. Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.

239. Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver, one by one, little by little, and from time to time.

240. As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it ; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to

the evil path.

241. The taint of prayers is non-repetition; the taint of houses, non-repair; the taint of the body is sloth; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.

242. Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor; tainted are all evil ways, in this world and in the next.

243. But there is a taint worse than all taints,—ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants! throw off that taint, and become taintless!

244. Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.

245. But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

246. He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in this world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife;

247. And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root.

248. O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time!

249. The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure: if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.

250. He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.

251. There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.

252. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler.

253. If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.

254. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. The world delights in vanity, the Tathagatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.

255. There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. No creatures are eternal; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE JUST

256, 257. A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence, but by law and equity, and who is guarded by the law and intelligent, he is called just.

258. A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.

259. A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.

260. A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'Old-in-vain.'

261. He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.

262. An envious, greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.

263. He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise, is called respectable.

264. Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Samana; can a man be a Samana who is still held captive by desire and greediness?

265. He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a Samana (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.

266. A man is not a mendicant (Bhikshu) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs.

267. He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

268, 269. A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (mona, i. e. mauna), if he is foolish and ignorant; but the wise who, taking the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.

270. A man is not an elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariya.

271, 272. Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much

learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. Bhikshu, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desires.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAY

273. The best of ways is the eightfold ; the best of truths the four words ; the best of virtues passionlessness ; the best of men he who has eyes to see.

274. This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this way ! Everything else is the deceit of Mara (the tempter).

275. If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain ! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).

276. You yourself must make an effort. The Tathagatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Mara.

277. 'All created things perish,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way to purity.

278. 'All created things are grief and pain,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

279. 'All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain ; this is the way that leads to purity.

280. He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge.

281. Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body ! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.

282. Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost ; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.

283. Cut down the whole forest (of lust), not a tree only ! Danger comes out of the forest (of lust). When you have cut down both the forest (of lust) and its undergrowth, then, Bhikshus, you will be rid of the forest and free !

284. So long as the love of man towards woman, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.

285. Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand ! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvana has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).

286. 'Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer,' thus the fool meditates, and does not think of his death.

287. Death comes and carries off that man, praised for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.

288. Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations ; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.

289. A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvana.

CHAPTER XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS

290. If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.

291. He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.

292. What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done ; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.

293. But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.

294. A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.

295. A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides.

296. The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.

297. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their

thoughts day and night are always set on the law.

298. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the church.

299. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.

300. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.

301. The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.

302. It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common), and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant, and he will not be beset with pain.

303. Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected.

304. Good people shine from afar, like the snowy mountains; bad people are not seen, like arrows shot by night.

305. He alone who, without ceasing, practises the duty of sitting alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, will rejoice in the destruction of all desires alone, as if living in a forest.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DOWNWARD COURSE

306. He who says what is not, goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

307. Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.

308. Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.

309. Four things does a reckless man gain who covets his neighbour's wife,—a bad reputation, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.

310. There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell), there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and

the king imposes heavy punishment; therefore let no man think of his neighbour's wife.

311. As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badly-practised asceticism leads to hell.

312. An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no great reward.

313. If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.

314. An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.

315. Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.

316. They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

317. They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

318. They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.

319. They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ELEPHANT

320. Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow: for the world is ill-natured.

321. They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.

322. Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks; but he who tames himself is better still.

323. For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvana), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz. on his own well-tamed self.

324. The elephant called Dhanapalaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.

325. If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again.

326. This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.

327. Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.

328. If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.

329. If a man finds no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,—like an elephant in the forest.

330. It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.

331. If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.

332. Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a Brahmana.

333. Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THIRST

334. The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

335. Whomsoever this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in

this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding Birana grass.

336. He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water-drops from a lotus leaf.

337. This salutary word I tell you, 'Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet-scented Usira root must dig up the Birana grass, that Mara (the tempter) may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds.'

338. As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its root is safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, this pain (of life) will return again and again.

339. He whose thirst running towards pleasure is exceeding strong in the thirty-six channels, the waves will carry away that misguided man, viz. his desires which are set on passion.

340. The channels run everywhere, the creeper (of passion) stands sprouting; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.

341. A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious; sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay.

342. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.

343. Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.

344. He who having got rid of the forest (of lust) (i. e. after having reached Nirvana) gives himself over to forest-life (i. e. to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (i. e. from lust), runs to the forest (i. e. to lust), look at that man! though free, he runs into bondage.

345. Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp; far stronger is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.

346. That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind.

347. Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world, free from cares, leaving all affection behind.

348. Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what

is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.

349. If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.

350. If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful (the impurity of the body, &c.), he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mara.

351. He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life: this will be his last body.

352. He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.

353. 'I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learnt myself, whom shall I teach?'

354. The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.

355. Pleasures destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself, as if he were his own enemy.

356. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion: therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.

357. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred: therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.

358. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.

359. The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE BHIKSHU (MENDICANT)

360. Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

361. In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.

362. He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu.

363. The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.

364. He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that Bhikshu will never fall away from the true law.

365. Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.

366. A Bhikshu who, though he receives little does not despise what he has received, even the gods praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.

367. He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.

368. The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

369. O Bhikshu, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred, thou wilt go to Nirvana.

370. Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghattinna, 'saved from the flood.'

371. Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure, that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, 'This is pain.'

372. Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge: he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvana.

373. A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.

374. As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvana).

375. And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu: watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful.

376. Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.

377. As the Vassika plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus!

378. The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.

379. Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self-protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, O Bhikshu!

380. For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self; therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse.

381. The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.

382. He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world, like the moon when free from clouds.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BRAHMANA (ARHAT)

383. Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brahmana! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.

384. If the Brahmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.

385. He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a Brahmana.

386. He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without

passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

387. The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brahmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.

388. Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brahmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (Prabbagita, a pilgrim).

389. No one should attack a Brahmana, but no Brahmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brahmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

390. It advantages a Brahmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

391. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three points.

392. After a man has once understood the law as taught by the Well-awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brahmana worships the sacrificial fire.

393. A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana.

394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

395. The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

397. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut all fetters, who never trembles, is independent and unshackled.

398. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut the strap and the thong, the chain with all that pertains to it, who has burst the bar, and is awakened.

399. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

400. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is free from anger, dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his

last body.

401. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of a needle.

402. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, even here, knows the end of his suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

403. Him I call indeed a Barhmana whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

404. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

405. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who finds no fault with other beings, whether feeble or strong, and does not kill nor cause slaughter.

406. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with fault-finders, and free from passion among the passionate.

407. Him I call indeed a Brahmana from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle.

408. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who utters true speech, instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

409. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

410. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

411. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has no interests, and when he has understood (the truth), does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

412. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world is above good and evil, above the bondage of both, free from grief, from sin, and from impurity.

413. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct.

414. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content.

415. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world, leaving

all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

416. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

417. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

418. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds.

419. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, well-faring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha).

420. Him I call indeed a Brahmana whose path the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat (venerable).

421. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

422. Him I call indeed a Brahmana, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

423. Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

TRANSLATED BY F. MAX MUELLER.

ZARATHUSTRA

ZARATHUSTRA (ZOROASTER) lived somewhere in Iran, at some time between the fifteenth and tenth century before Christ. Practically nothing is known of his life. To illustrate his thought and feeling, we have included the Gathas Ahunavaiti and Ustavaiti. These are sections of poetical matter sung in the midst of the Zend-Avesta. They are all very old and go back, most of them, to Zarathustra himself.

GATHA AHUNAVAITI

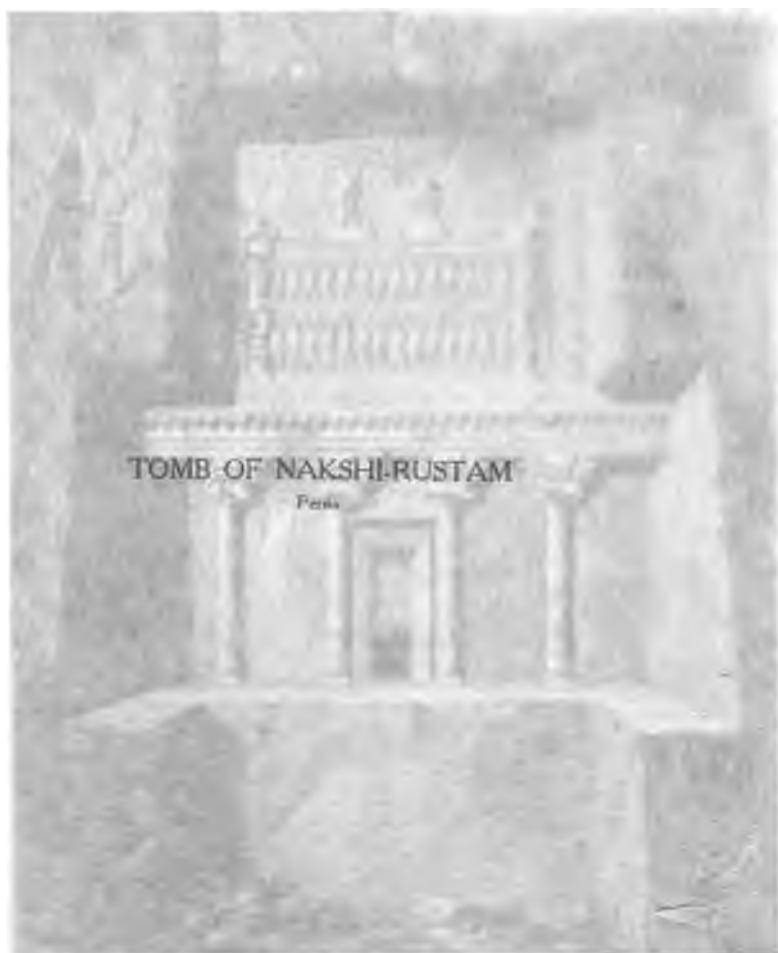
THE CALL FOR ZARATHUSTRA

(HOMAGE TO YOU, O SACRED GATHAS!)

1. UNTO YOU (O Ahura and Asha!) the Soul of the Kine (our sacred herds and folk) cried aloud: For whom did ye create me, and by whom did ye fashion me? On me comes the assault of wrath, and of violent power, the blow of desolation, audacious insolence, and (thievish) might. None other pasture-giver have I than you, therefore do ye teach me good (tillage) for the fields (my only hope of welfare)!

Ahura speaks.

2. Upon this the Creator of the Kine (the holy herds) asked of Righteousness: How (was) thy guardian for the Kine (appointed)



THE TOMB OF MARK TWAIN

CHAPTER I

THE TOMB OF MARK TWAIN

THE TOMB OF MARK TWAIN
 WAS OPENED ON THE 10TH OF
 APRIL, 1910, AT THE
 REQUEST OF THE
 PRESIDENT OF THE
 TWAIN SOCIETY, AND
 THE REMAINS WERE
 FOUND IN THE
 TOMB OF THE
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CHAPTER II

THE TOMB OF MARK TWAIN
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by thee when, as having power (over all her fate), ye made her? (In what manner did ye secure) for her, together with pasture, a cattle-chief who was both skilled and likewise energetic? Whom did ye select as her (life's) master who might hurl back the fury of the wicked?

Asha answers.

3. To Him the (Divine Righteousness) answered with his sanctity. (Great was our perplexity); a chieftain who was capable of smiting back (their fury), and who was himself without hate (was not to be obtained by us); among such things as these, those things are not to be known (by beings such as we) which are the influences which approach (and move) the lofty fires (revealing the favour and the will of God).

Of beings He is the mightiest to whom those who have performed their actions approach with invocations. (He has no need to ask!)

Zarathustra intervenes.

4. The Great Creator (is himself) most mindful of the uttered indications which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto in the deeds of demon-gods and (good or evil) men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter. He Ahura is the discerning arbiter; so shall it be to us as He shall will!

5. Therefore it is that we both, my soul and (the soul) of the mother Kine, (are) making our supplications for the two worlds to Ahura, and with hands stretched out in entreaty, when (we pray to the Great Creator with questions in our doubt; (and He will answer).

Not for the righteous liver, not for the thrifty (tiller of the earth), shall there be destruction together with the wicked!

Ahura.

6. Upon this the Lord, the Great Creator, He who understands the mysterious grace by His insight, spake thus: Not in this manner is a spiritual master found for us, nor a chieftain moved by Righteousness and appointed (in its spirit); therefore Thee have I named (as such a head) to the diligent tiller of the ground!

The Ameshospends.

7. Mazda has created the inspired Word-of-reason which is a Mathra of fatness (for the offering), the (Divine) Righteousness consenting with Him in his deed. Food he has prepared for the Kine and for the eaters, He the one bountiful with his (saving) doctrine; but whom hast Thou, endowed with the Good Mind, who may give forth those (doctrines) by word of mouth to mortals?

Ahura.

8. This man is found for me here who alone has hearkened to our enunciations, Zarathustra Spitama! Our mighty and completed acts of grace he desires to enounce for us, for (Me), the Great Creator and for Righteousness; wherefore I will give him the good abode (and authoritative place) of such an one as speaks!

The Geus Urvan.

9. Upon this the Soul of the Kine lamented: (Woe is unto me) since (I have obtained for myself) in my wounding a lord who is powerless to affect (his) wish, the (mere) voice of a feeble and pusillanimous man, whereas I desire one who is lord over his will (and able as one of royal state to bring what he desires to effect).

The Ameshospends.

((Aye,) when shall he ever appear who may bring to her help strong-handed?)

Zarathustra.

10. Do ye, O Ahura and thou, O Righteousness! grant gladness unto these (our disciples), and the sovereign Kingdom (of the Deity) such as (is established) in (His) Good Mind by which one bestows upon them the peaceful amenities of home and quiet happiness (as against the fearful ravages which they suffer), for of these, O Great Creator! I ever thought Thee first possessor!

11. And when shall the (Divine) Righteousness, the Good Mind (of the Lord, and His) Sovereign Power (come) hastening to me (to give me strength for my task and mission), O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (For without his I cannot advance or undertake my toil.) Do ye now therefore assign unto us your aid and in abundance for our great cause. May we be (partakers) of the bountiful grace of these your equals (your counsellors and servants)!

PRAYERS CHIEFLY FOR GRACE AND FOR THE WORDS OF REVELATION

1. (A strengthening blessing is the thought, a blessing is the word, a blessing is the deed of the righteous Zarathustra. May the Bountiful Immortals accept and help on the chants. Homage to you, O sacred Gathas!)

2. With venerating (desire) for this (gift) of gracious help, O Mazda, and stretching forth my hands (to Thee) I pray for the first

(blessing) of (Thy) bountiful Spirit; (that is, I beseech of Thee that my) actions (toward) all (may be performed) in (the Divine) Righteousness; and with this I implore from Thee the understanding of Thy Benevolent Mind, in order that I may propitiate the Soul of the Kine (our herds and folk, which cries so bitterly to Thee).

3. And therefore, O Great Creator, the Living Lord! (inspired) by Thy Benevolent Mind, I approach You, (and beseech of Thee) to grant me (as a bountiful gift) for both the worlds, the corporeal and (for that) of mind, those attainments which are to be derived from the (Divine) Righteousness, and by means of which (that personified Righteousness within us) may introduce those who are its recipients into beatitude and glory!

4. O (thou Divine) Righteousness, and thou Benevolent Mind (of Deity)! I will worship you, and Ahura Mazda the first, for all of whom the Pious ready mind (within us) is causing the imperishable Kingdom to advance. (And while I thus utter my supplications to You), come Ye to my calls to help!

5. (Yea, I will approach You with my supplications, I) who am delivering up (my) mind and soul to that (heavenly) Mount (whither all the redeemed at last must pass), knowing (full well) the holy characteristics and rewards of the (ceremonial and moral) actions (prescribed) by Ahura Mazda. (And) so long as I am able and may have the power, so long will I teach (Your people concerning these holy deeds to be done by them with faith toward God, and) in the desire (for the coming) of the (Divine) Righteousness (within their souls).

6. And, thou Righteousness! when shall I see thee, knowing the Good Mind (of God), and (above all the personified) Obedience (of our lives which constitutes) the way to the most beneficent Ahura Mazda. (Asking this, I thus beseech thee, for) with this holy word of supplication we must off with tongue the flesh-devouring fiends, (the very sign and power of all spiritual foulness)!

7. And do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! come to me with Thy Good Mind; and do Thou, who bestowest gifts through Thy Righteousness, bestow alike long-lasting life on us. And (that this life may be spent aright, do) Thou by means of Thy lofty words (bestow) the (needed) powerful spiritual help upon Zarathustra and upon us, whereby we may overcome the torments of the tormentor.

8. (And) do thou, O (Divine) Righteousness, bestow (upon me) that sacred blessing which is constituted by the attainments of the

Good Mind (within my soul) ; and do thou also, O Piety! grant unto Vistaspa and to me our wish; (yea) may'st Thou grant (us), O Mazda, ruler (as Thou art! that grace) whereby we may hear (with understanding) Thy benignant words.

9. That best (of gifts therefore) do I beseech (of Thee), O Thou best (of beings) Ahura! who art one in will with (Thy Divine) Righteousness (within us, likewise), the best (of spirits), desiring it (as I now do) for the (heroic) man Frashaostra, and for me, upon whom also may'st Thou bestow it (not for time alone), but for all the ages of Thy Good Mind (that reign of Thy Benevolence which shall be to us as Heaven)!

10. And (impressed and moved) by these gifts of strengthening grace (which Thou may'st give in answer to these prayers) may we never anger You, O Ahura Mazda! (nor Thy) Righteousness (within us), nor yet Thy Kindly Mind (toward us), since we have most earnestly made effort (helping to advance Your cause) in the (chanted) offering of Your praisers, for most easy to be invoked (are Ye). (Yours are verily both) the desire for (spiritual) blessings (for us), and the (Divine) Possession (of their power).

11. And therefore do Thou, O Lord, the Great Creator! fill up and satisfy (my) desire with these attainments (of the grace) of Thy Good Mind, which Thou dost know to be derived from Righteousness, (and) which (are verily) sublime, for I have known Thine instructions to be never void of their effect (in the struggles) for our (daily) food, and therefore worthy objects of desire.

12. (Yea, I approach Thee with my prayers, I) who by these (great gifts of grace) will protect (Thy) Divine Righteousness, and (Thy) Good Mind (within us) for ever. And do Thou therefore, O Ahura Mazda! teach me from Thyself, yea, from Thine own mouth of spirit, that I may declare it forth to (these Thy waiting people) by what (powers and according to what laws) the primeval world arose!

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM

1. And now I will proclaim, O ye who are drawing near and seeking to be taught! those animadversions which appertain to Him who knows (all things) whatsoever; the praises which are for Ahura, and the sacrifices (which spring) from the Good Mind, and likewise the benignant meditations inspired by Righteousness. And I pray

that propitious results may be seen in the lights.

2. Hear ye then with your ears; see ye the bright flames with the (eyes of the) Better Mind. It is for a decision as to religions, man and man, each individually for himself. Before the great effort of the cause, awake ye (all) to our teaching!

3. Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his actions, have been famed (of old.) (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye) not (as) the evil-doers!

4. (Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make life, and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State.

5. (Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they choose distinctly each his separate realm.) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil), thereby working the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit chose the (Divine) Righteousness; (yea, He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm stones of heaven (as His robe). And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith.

6. And between these two spirits the Demon-gods (and they who give them worship) can make no righteous choice, since we have beguiled them. As they were questioning and debating in their council the (personified) Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. (They made their fatal decision.) And thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Fury, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.

7. Upon this Aramaiti (the personified Piety of the saints) approached, and with her came the Sovereign Power, the Good Mind, and the Righteous Order. And (to the spiritual creations of good and of evil) Aramaiti gave a body, she the abiding and ever strenuous. And for these (Thy people) so let (that body) be (at the last), O Mazda! as it was when Thou camest first with creations!

8. And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daevas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally), and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then, O Mazda! the Kingdom shall have been gained for

Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk). For to those, O living Lord! does (that Good Mind) utter his command, who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer).

9. And may we be such as those who bring on this great renovation, and make this world progressive, (till its perfection shall have been reached). (As) the Ahuras of Mazda (even) may we be; (yea, like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet (Thy people), presenting (benefits) in union with the Righteous Order. For there will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home.

10. (And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood, (and her adherents shall perish with her), but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints shall gather, they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute (and honour).

11. Wherefore, O ye men! ye are learning (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness and (our) sorrow. (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous. And when these (shall have begun their course), salvation shall be (your portion)!

THE PROGRESS AND STRUGGLES OF THE CAUSE

1. These doctrines (therefore) we are earnestly declaring to You as we recite them forth from memory, words (till now) unheard (with faith) by those who by means of the doctrinal vows of the harmful Lie are delivering the settlements of Righteousness to death, but words which are of the best unto those who are heartily devoted to Ahura.

2. And if by this means the indubitable truths are not seen in the soul, then as better (than these words) I will come to you all (in my person) with that power, and in that way according to which Ahura Mazda knows and appoints His ruler, that ruler over both the two (struggling) bands, in order that we (in obedience to him), may live according to Righteousness.

3. And that keenness, that deciding satisfaction, which Thou hast given by (Thy) Spirit, and (Thy) Fire, and by Thy Righteousness (itself) to the two battling (sides), do Thou declare unto us, O Ahura!

that vow which is for the seeing (as those endowed with mental light). Yea, do Thou declare this that we may know it, O Mazda! With the tongue of Thy mouth do Thou speak it (that as I preach its mighty truths) I may make all the living believers!

4. And when the Divine Righteousness shall be inclined to my appeal, and with him all those (remaining ones who are as) Mazda's (own) Ahuras then with the blessedness (of the reward), with (my) Piety and with Thy Best Mind (active within me), I will pray for that mighty Kingdom by whose force we may smite the Lie-demon.

5. Aye, do Thou tell me that I may discern it, since through (Thy) Righteous Order the better (lot) is given; tell me this that I may know it with (Thy) Good Mind (as it speaks within me), and that I may ponder that to which these my truths belong (and of which my prophet speaks; yea), tell me those things, O Mazda Ahura! which may not be, and which may be.

6. And that verily shall be the best of all words to Him which the All-(wise one) will declare to me in very deed, that word which is the Mathra of Welfare and of Immortality (for it proclaims His beneficent power). And to the Great Creator (shall there be) a Realm such as that (whose strength I asked for victory), and which (at the last) shall flourish in its holiness to His (glory)!

7. (For He has sovereign control.) He who conceived of these (truths of the Mathra) as their first (inspirer), (and as He thought their existence they (all) as (His) glorious (conceptions first) clothed themselves in the stars), He is through His understanding the Creator of the Righteous Order. And thus likewise He supports His Beneficent Mind (in His saints). And these (holy creatures) may'st Thou cause to prosper by Thy Spirit (since they are Thine own), O Ahura Mazda! Thou who art for every hour the same!

8. Therefore, as the first did I conceive of Thee, O Ahura Mazda! as the one to be adored with the mind in the creation, as the Father of the Good Mind within us, when I behold Thee with my (enlightened) eyes as the veritable maker of our Righteousness, as the Lord of the actions of life!

9. Thine, O Ahura! was Piety; yea, Thine, O Creator of the Kine! was understanding and the Spirit, when Thou didst order a path for her (guiding). From the earth's tiller (aided) she goeth (in that allotted way), or from him who was never tiller. (Thy path hath given her choice.)

10. (But she did not pause in temptation.) Of the two she

chose the husbandman, the thrifty toiler in the fields, as a holy master endowed with the Good Mind's wealth. Never, Mazda! shall the thieving nomad share the good creed. (For the Kine's choice would bestow it!)

11. (And this doctrine was the first of rules to regulate our actions. Yet the opposer speaks beside Thee.) For when first, O Ahura Mazda! Thou didst create the (holy) settlements, and didst reveal the religious laws; and when Thou gavest (us) understanding from Thine own mind, and madest our (full) bodily life, and (didst thus determine) actions (by Thy power), and didst moreover deliver to us (nearer) injunctions whereby (as by a rule) the wisher may place his choices.

12. (There strife at once arose, and still is raging.) There (beside Thy prophet) the truthful or liar, the enlightened or unenlightened, lifts his voice (to utter his faith), and with devoted mind and heart. (But without hindrance from this striving, or pausing with feeble search, our) Piety steadily questions the two spirits (not here on earth) but (there in the spirit-world) where (they dwell as) in their home.

13. (Yea, my Piety questions searchingly, for Thou, O Maker! hast Thy view on all; we cannot question lightly.) What questions are asked which are open (permitted to our thoughts), or what questions (are asked) which are furtive (hiding themselves from the light), or (what decision soever we may make, and the man) who for the smallest sin binds on the heaviest penance, on all with Thy glittering eye(s) as a righteous guard Thou art gazing!

14. This then I will ask Thee, O Ahura Mazda! (as I seek Thy counsel once again). What events are coming now, and what events shall come in the future; and what prayers with debt-confessions are offered with the offerings of the holy? And what (are the awards) for the wicked? And how shall they be in the (final) state of completion?

15. And I would ask Thee this, O Mazda! (concerning the coadjutor of the wicked): What is the award for him who prepares the throne for the evil, for the evil-doer, O Ahura! for him who cannot else reclaim his life, not else save with lawless harm to the tiller's herd, to the picus husbandman's flock, who speaks no word with lying, (who abjures the Lie-demon's faith)?

16. Yea, I would ask Thee such a thing as this: How such an one as he who, with wise action, has striven to promote (Thy holy)

Rule over house, and region, and province, in the Righteous Order and in truth, how he may become like Thee, O Great Creator, Living Lord? And when he may so become, (this also I would ask), and in what actions living he may so be?

17. And which of the (religions) is the greater (and the more prevailing as to these questions which thus concern the soul?) Is it that which the righteous believes, or the wicked? (Let then our questionings cease.) Let the enlightened (alone) speak to the enlightened. Let not the ignorant (further) deceive us, (high though he may lift his voice). Do Thou thyself, O Ahura Mazda! declare to us (the truth) as Thy Good Mind's full revealer.

18. (And you, ye assembled throngs!) let not a man of you lend a hearing to Mathra, or to command of that sinner (ignorant as he is), for home, village, region, and province he would deliver to ruin and death. But (fly ye to arms without hearing), and hew ye them all with the halberd!

19. Let them hear Him who conceived of the Righteous Order for the worlds, the (all)-wise One, O Ahura! For truthful speech He rules with absolute sway over words, and ever free of tongue (to guide us in our way). By Thy shining flame (He doth guide us, Thine altar's flame with its signs of decision and of grace) sent forth for the good of the strivers.

20. (But, O ye listening men!) he who renders the saint deceived, for him shall be later destruction. Long life shall be his lot in the darkness; foul shall be his food; his speech shall be of the lowest. And this, which is such a life as your own, O ye vile! your (perverted) conscience through your own deeds will bring you!

21. But Ahura Mazda will give both Universal Weal and Immortality in the fulness of His Righteous Order, and from himself as the head of Dominion (within His saints). And He will likewise give the Good Mind's vigorous might to him who in spirit and deeds in His friend, (and with faith fulfils his vows).

22. And to the wise are these things clear as to the one discerning with his mind (not blinded by the perverter). With Thy Good Mind and Thy (holy) Kingdom he follows the Righteous Order both in his words and his actions. And to Thee, O Ahura Mazda! such a man shall be the most helpful and vigorous being (for he serves with every power)!

THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUED

(That rival-monarch (thus we may supply the sense of lost verses) for whom some are plotting to secure the sovereignty, and who, once in power, would deliver over home, village, town, and province to ruin and to death, is active in his efforts, and offering the devotions of his false religion to accomplish his ends.) 1. His lord-kinsman will pray (as I Zarathustra prayed), and his labouring villagers, with his (trusted) peers, and his (fellow) Dæva-worshippers. But in my mind is the friendship of Ahura Mazda, the Great Creator, the living Lord; and Thine heralds, O Ahura! may we be; may we hold back those who hate and who offend You!

2. To these (for whom the prophet spake) Ahura Mazda answered, ruling as He does through His Good Mind (within their souls), He replied from His Sovereign Power, our good friend (as he is) through His surpassing Righteousness: We have accepted your good and bountiful Piety, and we have chosen her; ours shall she be!

3. But you, O ye Dævas! are all a seed from the Evil Mind. He who offers sacrifice to You the most is of the Lie-demon, and (he is a child) of perversion. In advance (are your) deceits whereby ye are famed in the sevenfold earth!

4. For ye (are) confusing our thoughts, whereby men, giving forth the worst deeds, will speak, as of the Demon-gods beloved, forsaken by the Good Mind, (far) astray from the understanding of the Great Creator, the Living Lord, and (far astray) from His Righteousness!

5. Therefore ye would beguile mankind of happy life (upon earth) and of Immortality (beyond it), since the Evil Spirit (has ruled) you with his evil mind. Yea, he has ruled you, (ye) who are of the Demon-gods, and with an evil word unto action, as his ruler (governs) the wicked!

6. Full of crime (your leader) has desired to destroy us, wherefore he is famed, (and his doctrine is declared); but if this be so of these, then in the same manner, O Ahura! Thou possessest (because Thou knowest) the true (teachings) in Thy memory. And in Thy kingdom and Thy Righteous Order I will establish Thy precepts (in Thy name).

7. Among these wretched beings (this their leader) knows not that those things which are declared as victorious (by his allies) are bound together for the smiting; yea, those things by which he was famed (as victorious) by his (blade of) glittering iron. But the utter destruction of those things Thou, O Ahura Mazda! knowest, most surely!

8. Of these wretched beings Yima Vivanghusha was famed to be; he who, desiring to content our men, was eating kine's flesh in its pieces. But from (such as) these, O Ahura Mazda! in Thy discerning discrimination, am I (to be seen as distinct).

9. An evil teacher (as that leader is), he will destroy (our) doctrines, and by his teachings he will pervert the (true) understanding of life, seizing away (from me) my riches, the choice and real wealth of (Thy) Good Mind. To You and to Asha, O Ahura Mazda! am I therefore crying with the voice of my spirit's (need)!

10. Aye, this man will destroy my doctrines (indeed, for he blasphemeth the highest of creatures that live or are made). He declares that the (sacred) Kine and the Sun are the worst of things which eye can see; and he will offer the gifts of the wicked (as priest to their Demon-gods). And at the last he will parch our meadows with drought, and will hurl his mace at Thy saint (who may fall before his arms).

11. Yea, these will destroy my life, for they consult with the great of the wicked (enlightening themselves by their words). And they are seizing away the gifts of inherited treasures from both household-lord and from house-wife; (wretched men that they are), and those who will fiercely wound (my folk, repelled and in no way kindly moved) by the better mind of the holy.

12. (But Ahura will speak His rebuke, for) as to those doctrines which (such) men may be (basely) delivering (repelled) by the holiest action, (and galled by its sacred truth) God hath said: Evil (are they! Yea, unto these He hath said it) who have slain the Kine's life by a blessing (and have cursed her while they offered to help her), men by whom Grehmas are loved above Righteousness, and the Karpans, and the Throne of those who have wished for the Demon of lies (as their deity and friend).

13. And the Grehma will seek for these things by means of his (evil) kingdom in the abode of (Hell which is) the Worst Mind (who both are together) the destroyers of life, and who, O Mazda! will bewail with glad but (envious) wish the message of Thy prophet.

(But he will not abate with his vengeance), he will hold them afar from the sight of the truth!

14. His is Grehma; aye, his! And to (oppose) Thee he will establish the Kavis and (their) scheming plans. Their deeds of power are but deceits since they have come as an aid to the wicked, and since he has been (falsely) said (to be set) to conquer the Kine, he who shall kindle that (very) help of grace which removes our death afar, (and lightens Thy saving flame).

15. And therefore will I drive from hence the Karpans' and Kavis' disciples. And after these (have thus been driven hence and away) then these (my princely aiding saints) whom they (now) render no longer rulers at will over life, (and deprive of their absolute power), these shall be borne (at last) by the (immortal) two to the home of (Thy) Good Mind (in Heaven)!

16. (And) this entire (reward of the righteous) is from that Best One who teaches in the wide (mental) light of the pious, ruling (as supreme), O Mazda Ahura! whose are my woes and my doubt-ings (yea, they lie in His power to heal), when I shall make (my prophets) men to be sought for the harm of the wicked. And this I shall do by the word of my mouth (to defend and avenge my saints)!

PRAYERS, HOPES, AND SELF-CONSECRATION.

1. As by the laws of the primeval world, so will our spiritual chieftain act (that chief besought-for by the Kine, and named as Zarathustra by the Lord). Deeds most just he will do toward the wicked, as toward the righteous, and toward him whose deeds of fraud and righteous deeds combine (in equal measure).

2. Yea, (he will act with justice but with vengeance, for) he who does evil to the wicked by word, or with thought (and plan), and (who therein does not dally, but toils labouring as) with both the hands, or he (again) who admonishes one for his good, such as these are offering (a gift) to their religious faith in the love (and with the approving view) of Ahura Mazda; (they are offering to conscience.)

3. (And so may it be), O Ahura! Let the man who is the best toward the righteous saint, whether lord's kinsman, or as village labourer, with the allied peer (of the master), having light, and endowed with energy for the cattle (a Ratu such as Ahura sought to satisfy their wail), let such an one be (for us) in the work-field of

the Righteous Order, in the pastures of Thy Good Mind.

4. (And I beseech for Thine instruction), I who will abjure all disobedience (toward Thee, praying that others likewise may withhold it) from Thee; I who abjure the Evil Mind as well, the lordly kinsman's arrogance, and that lying sin which is (alas!) the next thing to the people (their most familiar fault), and the blaming ally's falsehood, and from the Kine the worst care of her meadows (the crime of stint in labour),

5. I, who (abjuring these sins), call earnestly on Thine Obedience of all (assisting guardians) the greatest one for our help, gaining (thereby) long life in the Realm of (Thy) Good Mind (incarnate in our tribes), and paths that are straight from their Righteous Order, wherein Ahura Mazda dwells,

6. (Yea), I who, as this Thy faithful priest, invoke Thee through (my) Righteousness, (now) seek with longing from (Thy) Best Spirit, and with that (best) intention of mind, (to know) what he himself thought of the working of (our) fields. Therefore (because I abjure the Evil Mind, and all disobedience, arrogance, falsehood), O Mazda! would I beseech of Thee for a sight of Thee, and for consultation with thee! (What is Thy will and mind?)

7. Come Ye, then, to my best (regulations. Come to my men, and my laws), my very own, O Mazda! and let them see through the Righteous Order and (Thy) Good Mind (which Thou wilt bestow in Thy drawing near) how I am heard before the rich giver (in the assembly of Thy worshippers). Yea, (come Ye); and let the manifold offerings of worship be manifest among us. (Arouse Ye, and help our zeal!)

8. (Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering, O Mazda! of the One like You, or the words of praises offered with Righteousness. And give Ye Your offering (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare!

9. And let (one like those), O Mazda! bear on to Thee the spirit of the two leaders who cause the holy Truth to flourish; let him bear them to (Thy) brilliant home with preternatural insight, and with the Better Mind. Yea, let him bear that spirit on as a fellow-help in (furthering) the readiness of those (in their holy work) whose souls go hand in hand.

10. (And not for these alone do I pray, but for us as well.) All prosperous states in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which

men are now enjoying, and which shall be known in the future, do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love. (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation through (Thy) Good Mind, (Thy) Sovereign Power, and (Thy) Sanctity.

11. And, O Thou who art the most beneficent Ahura Mazda! and thou who art Aramaiti (our piety), and also the Righteous Order who dost further on the settlements; and Thou, the Good Mind, and the Sovereign Power! hear ye me all, and have mercy for every deed which I do whatsoever!

12. And Thou, O Ahura! do Thou (Thyself) arise to me! Through Aramaiti give me power, O most bountiful Spirit Mazda! through (my) faithful appeals and offerings; and for (my) Righteousness grant me mighty strength, and (Thy) thrift-law through (Thy) Good Mind.

13. (Arise to give me power), and then for grace in a wide perception (that I may view its depth and extent), do Thou reveal to me Thy nature (?), O Ahura! (the power of Thine attributes), and those of Thy (holy) kingdom, and by these, the blessed gifts of (Thy) Good Mind! And do Thou, O bountiful Piety show forth the religious truths through (Thy) Righteous Order.

14. Thus, as an offering, Zarathustra gives the life of his very body. And he offers, likewise, O Mazda! the priority of the Good Mind, (his eminence gained) by his holiness (with Thy folk); and he offers (above all this) Obedience (to Thee) in deed and in speech, and with these (Thine established) Sovereign Power!

THANKS TO AHURA

1. As to those (three gifts of blessings), Immortality, the Righteous Order, and the (established) Kingdom of Welfare, which Thou, O Mazda! hast given through (holy) deeds, words, and the sacrifice unto these (Thy servants here in my sight), gifts (shall) be offered by us in return to Thee, O Ahura! and with the foremost of them all.

2. Yea, and all those gifts of the Good Spirit have been given (back in gratitude) to Thee by the mind and the deed of the bountiful man, whose soul goes hand in hand with the Righteous Order in the settlement, in homage toward the One like You, O Mazda! and with the chants of the (thankful) praisers.

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS

[illegible][illegible]



3. And unto Thee, O Ahura! will we offer the (thankful) meat-offering with self-humbling praise, and to Thy Righteousness (like Thee a person), and for all the settlements in Thy kingdom which are guarded by Thy Good Mind. For in the perfect preparation of the justly acting (has that offering its power), O Mazda! together with all (others of its kind). Among those like You and worthy of Yourselves, it is a blessing.

4. And we pray likewise for Thy Fire, O Ahura! strong through Righteousness (as it is), most swift, (most) powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda! it is a steadfast harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands.

5. What is then Your Kingdom, O Mazda? What are Your riches? that I may become Your own in my actions, with the Righteous Order, and (Thy) Good Mind, to care for Your poor (in their suffering). Apart from all would we declare You, yea, apart from Daevas, and Khrafstra-polluted mortals!

6. If thus Ye are in verity, O Mazda! with the Righteous Order and Thy Good Mind, then grant Ye me a sign of this in this world's entire abiding (while I live amid its scenes), how offering sacrifice and praising You the more devoutly, I may approach You (in my worship)!

7. Where are Thine offerers, O Mazda! Thy helpers, who as the enlightened of the Good Mind are producing the doctrines with wide mental light as inherited treasures, (delivering them as Thy word) in misfortune and in woe? I know none other than You; then do Ye save us through Your righteousness!

8. Through these our deeds (of sacrifice and zeal), they are terrified among whom there was (once) destruction, and for many (at the time) when the oppressor of Thy holy vows was as the stronger oppressing the weaker. They who have not thought (in consonance) with Thy Righteous Order, from these Thy Good Mind abideth afar.

9. Aye, they who desert Thy bountiful Piety, O Mazda! that one desired of Thee, O Thou omniscient! and who thus abandon her by reason of the evil-doer, and in their ignorance of (Thy) Good Mind, from such as these (Aramaiti) with her holiness utterly departs as the red Khrafstras (who destroy and pollute all life, flee) from us (Thy faithful servants).

10. Through the action of this (His) Good Mind (as he works his grace within us) the benevolently wise One declared a result as its

fruit, He knowing the bountiful Piety, the creatrix of righteous beings. These all, O Mazda Ahura! in Thy Kingdom (are 'helps to our progress') for they smite (our tyrants) with fear.

11. And for Thee hath Aramaiti (who is Our Piety) increased both the Universal Weal and (its continuance in) Immortality, and (with them as ever united) the Righteous (ritual and moral) Order (established and made firm) in the Kingdom of (Thy Good Mind). Those powerful lasting two (hath she increased) to (give us the needful) food. And through these, O Mazda! art Thou with Thy perfect expellers of hate. (Thou removest Thy foes afar!)

12. What then are Thy regulations? And what wilt Thou? What of praise, or of (fuller) offering? Speak forth that we hear it, O Mazda! what will establish the blessed rewards of Thine ordinance! Teach Thou us the paths through Righteousness, those verily trod by (Thy) Good Mind as he lives within Thy saints.

13. (Do I ask what is that path?) That way which Thou declarest to me as the path of the Good Mind, O Ahura! (is made in its parts by) the religious precepts and laws of the Saviours, wherein the well-doer thrives from (his) Righteousness. And it marks for the good a reward of which Thou art Thyself the bestower.

14. For that (reward), O Mazda! ye have given as the one to be chosen for (our) bodily life through the deeds of Thy Good Mind (in us). They who work in the toil of the mother Kine, these further Your merciful care through the understanding's action, and (taught) by Thine Order's (word).

15. Yea, (show me, O Mazda! that path and its reward); tell me the best (of truths); reveal the best words and best actions, and the confessing prayer of the praiser through Thy Good Mind (living within us); and through the Righteous Order, O Ahura! And by Your Sovereign Power and grace may'st Thou make life really progressive (till perfection shall have been reached)!

THE GATHA USTAVANTI

SALVATION IS ANNOUNCED AS UNIVERSAL. FOR BELIEVERS. REFLECTIONS OF ZARATHUSTRA UPON THE SUBLIMITY AND BOUNTIFULNESS OF AHURA

1. SALVATION to this man, salvation to him whosoever (he may be)! Let the absolutely ruling Great Creator grant (us, He) the living Lord, the two eternal powers. Yea, verily, I ask it of Thee (O Ahura) for the maintaining Righteousness. And may'st Thou also give it to me, (O inspiring) Piety! splendour (as it is), holy blessings, the Good Mind's life.

2. Yea, to this one may the man endowed with glory give that best of all things, the (spiritual) glory. And do Thou likewise (Thyself) reveal Thine own (gifts) through Thy most bountiful spirit, O Mazda! (And do Thou teach us) Thy wonderful thoughts of wisdom, those of Thy Good Mind, which Thou hast revealed (to us) by Thy Righteousness (within us) with the happy increase of (our joy), and on a long life's every day.

3. And may that (holy man) approach toward that which is the better than the good, he who will show to us the straight paths of (spiritual) profit, (the blessings) of this corporeal life, and of that the mental, in those veritably real (eternal) worlds, where dwells Ahura; (that holy man) an offerer of Thine, O Mazda! a faithful citizen, and bountiful of (mind).

4. Yea, I will regard Thee as mighty and likewise bountiful, O Mazda! when (I behold) those aids of grace (approach me), aids which Thou dost guard and nurture as (Thy) just awards to the wicked (to hold him far from us), as well as to the righteous (for our help), Thy Fire's flame therewith so strong through the Holy Order, and when to me the Good Mind's power comes.

5. (For) so I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver, Mazda! when I beheld Thee as supreme in the generation of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for

the evil, and happy blessings for the good, by Thy (great) virtue (to be adjudged to each) in the creation's final change.

6. In which (last) changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous spirit, and Thy sovereign power, O Ahura Mazda! by deeds of whom the settlements are furthered through the Righteous Order. And saving regulations likewise unto these shall Aramaiti utter, (she, our Piety within us), yea, (laws) of Thine understanding which no man may deceive.

7. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Great Giver Mazda! when he (Thy messenger, Obedience) drew near me, and asked me thus: Who art thou? And whose is thine allegiance? And how to-day shall I show the signs that give the light on this (our) question, (signs) as to the lands (from whence thou camest) and in thyself?

8. Then to him I, Zarathustra, as my first answer, said: To the wicked (would that I could be) in very truth a strong tormentor and avenger, but to the righteous may I be a mighty help and joy, since to preparations for Thy Kingdom, and in desire (for its approach), I would devote myself so long as to Thee, O Mazda! I may praise, and weave my song.

9. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thine herald) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and asked me thus: For what dost thou desire that thou may'st gain, and that thou may'st know it? Then for Thy Fire an offering of praise and holiness (I desired. And on that offering for myself) as long as I have the power, will I meditate, (and for its holy power among Thy people will I plan).

10. And may'st Thou likewise grant me (Thy) Righteousness (within me), since I earnestly invoke that perfect readiness (of mind), joining in my prayer with Aramaiti (our Piety toward Thee. Yea, pray Thou Thyself within me through these holy powers). Ask Thou (Thyself) our questions, those which shall be asked by us of Thee; for a question asked by Thee (as its inspirer), is as the question of the mighty, whene'er Thy (?) ruler speaks his potent wish.

11. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bountiful, O Ahura Mazda! when (Thy messenger) with Thy Good Mind near approached me, and with your words I first impressed (my soul). Woes then 'midst men Thy heart-devoted one declared (to be) my (portion); but that will I do which Thou did'st say was best.

12. And since Thou, coming thus, Thy legal Righteousness in fulness spakest, then declare not to me words as yet unheard (with

faith or knowledge; command me not) to go forth (with these upon my task) before Thy Sraosha (Obedience) comes to me, to go on hand in hand with me with holy recompense and mighty splendour, whereby to give the contending throngs (?), as a blessing, (Your) spiritual gifts (of certainty and peace).

13. Thus I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with Thy Good Mind (Sraosha, Obedience) approached me. (And I would therefore pray thus of Thee, that bounteous one.) In order that I may make known to men the true and sacred aims of their desires (in the rite or daily toil), grant Ye me long life for this, (that blessing) which none with daring may extort from You, even this (gift) of that desired place which has been declared to be within Thy Realm.

14. Yea, as the man enlightened (in Thy law), and who has possessions, gives to his friends, (so give Ye) me, O Great Creator! Thy rejoicing and abounding grace, when through Thy sovereign Power, and from (the motive of Thy cause of) Righteous Order I stand forth to go out to, or to arouse, the chiefs of Thy (pure) proclamation, with all those (others) who recite Thy well-remembered Mathra word.

15. Yea, I conceived of Thee as bounteous, O Ahura Mazda! when with the Good Mind's grace Thy Sraosha (Obedience) approached me, (and said): Let the quiet and long-enduring better mind with understanding teach (thee); let not a foremost man conciliate the wicked (as sycophant desiring aid), for with that (quiet mind of faith), Thy saints have brought full many a sinner unto Thee (as convert, and in penitence).

16. Thus, O Ahura Mazda! this Zarathustra loves the Spirit, and every man most bounteous prays (beside him): Be Righteousness life-strong, and clothed with body. In that (holy) Realm which shines (with splendour) as the sun, let Piety be present; and may she through the indwelling of Thy Good Mind give us blessings in reward for deeds!

QUESTIONS ASKED OF AHURA WITH THANKFULNESS AND DEVOTION

1. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; when praise is to be offered, how (shall I complete) the praise of the One like You, O Mazda? Let the One like Thee declare it earnestly to the friend who is

such as I, thus through Thy Righteousness (within us) to offer friendly help to us, so that the One like Thee may draw near us through Thy Good Mind (within the soul).

2. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how, in pleasing Him, may we serve the supreme one of (Heaven) the better world; yea, how to serve that chief who may grant us those (blessings of His grace, and) who will seek for (grateful requitals at our hands); for He, bountiful (as He is) through the Righteous Order, (will hold off) ruin from (us) all, guardian (as He is) for both the worlds, O Spirit Mazda! and a friend.

3. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright: Who by generation was the first father of the Righteous Order (within the world)? Who gave the (recurring) sun and stars their (undeviating) way? Who established that whereby the moon waxes, and whereby she wanes, save Thee? These things, O Great Creator! would I know, and others likewise still.

4. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who from beneath hath sustained the earth and the clouds above that they do not fall? Who made the waters and the plants? Who to the wind has yoked on the storm-clouds, the swift and fleetest two? Who, O Great Creator! is the inspirer of the good thoughts (within our souls)?

5. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness? Who, as thus skilful, hath made sleep and the zest (of waking hours)? Who (spread) the Auroras, the noontides and midnights, monitors to discerning (man), duty's true (guides)?

6. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright these things which I shall speak forth, if they are truly thus. Doth the Piety (which we cherish) in reality increase the sacred orderliness within our actions? To these Thy true saints hath she given the Realm through the Good Mind. For whom hast Thou made the Mother-kine, the producer of joy?

7. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who fashioned Aramaiti (our piety) the beloved, together with Thy Sovereign Power? Who, through his guiding wisdom, hath made the son revering the father? (Who made him beloved?) With (questions such as) these, so abundant, O Mazda! I press Thee, O bountiful Spirit, (Thou) maker of all!

8. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, that I may ponder these which are Thy revelations, O Mazda! and the words which were



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asked (of Thee) by Thy Good Mind (within us), and that whereby we may attain, through Thine Order, to this life's perfection. Yea, how may my soul with joyfulness increase in goodness? Let it thus be.

9. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how to myself shall I hallow the Faith of Thy people, which the beneficent kingdom's lord hath taught me, even the admonitions which He called Thine equal, hath taught me through His lofty (and most righteous Sovereignty and) Power, as He dwells in like abode with Thine Order and Thy Good Mind?

10. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright that holy Faith which is of all things best, and which, going on hand in hand with Thy people, shall further my lands in Asha, Thine order, and, through the words of Aramaiti (our piety), shall render actions just. The prayers of mine understanding will seek for Thee, O Ahura!

11. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how to these your (worshippers) may (that Piety once again and evermore) approach, to them to whom O Lord, Thy Faith is uttered? Yea, I beseech of Thee to tell me this, I who am known to Thee as Thy foremost (servants); all other (Gods, with their polluted worshippers), I look upon with (my) spirit's hate.

12. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; who is the righteous one in that regard in which I ask Thee my question? And who is evil? For which is the wicked? Or which is himself the (foremost) wicked one? And the vile man who stands against me (in this gain of) Thy blessing, wherefore is he not held and believed to be the sinner that he is?

13. This I ask thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, how shall I banish this Demon-of-the-Lie from us hence to those beneath who are filled with rebellion? The friends of Righteousness (as it lives in Thy saints) gain no light (from their teachings), nor have they loved the questions which Thy Good Mind (asks in the soul)!

14. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how shall I deliver that Demon-of-the-Lie into the two hands of Thine Order (as he lives in our hosts) to cast her down to death through Thy Mathras of doctrine, and to send mighty destruction among her evil believers, to keep those deceitful and harsh oppressors from reaching their (fell) aims?

15. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright. If through Thy Righteousness (within our souls) Thou hast the power over this for my

protection, when the two hosts shall meet in hate (as they strive) for those vows which Thou dost desire to maintain, how, O Mazda! and to which of both wilt Thou give the day?

16. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright, who smites with victory in the protection (of all) who exist, and for the sake of, and by means of Thy doctrine? Yea, clearly reveal a lord having power (to save us) for both lives. Then let (our) Obedience with Thy Good Mind draw near to that (leader), O Mazda! yea, to him to whomsoever Thou (shalt) wish that he should come.

17. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; how, O Mazda! shall I proceed to that (great) conference with You, to that consummation of Your own, when my spoken wish shall be (effected) unto me, (the desire) to be in the chieftainship (and supported) by (the hope of) Weal and Immortality (those saving powers of Thy grace), and by that (holy) Mathra (Thy word of thought) which fully guides our way through Righteousness (within).

18. (And, having gained Thine audience and Thine Order's sacred chieftainship), then I ask of Thee, O Ahura! and tell me aright, how shall I acquire that Thy Righteous Order's prize, ten (costly) mares male-mated, and with them the camel (those signs of honour and blessing for Thy chief. I ask Thee for these gifts for sacrifice). For it was told me for the sake of our Welfare (in our salvation), and of our Immortality, in what manner Thou shalt give to these (Thy conquering hosts) both of these Thy (gifts of grace).

19. This I ask Thee, O Ahura! tell me aright; (in the case of the recreant, of him) who does not give this (honoured) gift to him who hath earned it; yea, who does not give it to this (veracious tiller of the earth, to him who in no respect shows favour to the Demon-of-the-Lie, even to the) correct speaker (of Thy sacrificial word), what shall be his sentence at the first (now at this time, and because of this false dealing? I ask it), knowing well his doom at last.

20. (And how as to our deluded foes?) Have Daeva-(worshippers) e'er reigned as worthy kings? (This verily I ask of Thee, the Daeva-worshippers) who fight for these (who act amiss? Have they well reigned) by whom the Karpan and the Usig(k) gave the (sacred) Kine to Rapine, whence, too, the Kavian in persistent strength has flourished? (And these have also never given us tribal wealth nor blessings), nor for the Kine have they brought waters to the fields for the sake of the Righteous Order (in our hosts), to further on their growth (and welfare)!

THE DOCTRINE OF DUALISM. HOMAGE TO AHURA

1. Yea, I will speak forth; hear ye; now listen, ye who from near, and ye who from afar have come seeking (the knowledge). Now ponder ye clearly all (that concerns) him. Not for a second time shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind, or the body). The wicked is hemmed in with his faith and his tongue!

2. Yea, I will declare the world's two first spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful; Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one.

3. Thus I will declare this world's first (teaching), that which the all-wise Mazda Ahura hath told me. And they among you who will not so fulfil and obey this Mathra, as I now shall conceive and declare it, to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe.

4. Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being). From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda, who hath appointed these (things), hath known (what He utters to be true; yea, I will declare) Him the father of the toiling Good Mind (within us). So is His daughter through good deeds (our) Piety. Not to be deceived is the all-viewing Lord.

5. Yea, thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals. They who therein grant me obedient attention, upon them cometh Weal to bless, and the Immortal being, and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord.

6. Aye, thus I will declare forth Him who is of all the greatest, praising through my Righteousness, I who do aright, those who (dispose of all as well aright). Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit, in whose homage (what I asked) was asked with the Good Mind. Aye, let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) the best.

7. (Yea, I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for, those who are living now, as well as those who have lived (aforetime), as will they also who are coming (hereafter. Yea, even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal Immortality. (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked. And these hath Ahura Mazda (estab-

lished) through His kingdom, He, the creator (of all).

8. Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see Him clearly, Lord of the good spirit, of word, and action, I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to Him (not here alone, but) in His home of song, His praise we shall bear.

9. Yea, Him with our better Mind we seek to honour, who desiring (good), shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow. May He, Ahura Mazda, make us vigorous through Khshathra's royal power, our flocks and men in thrift to further, from the good support and bearing of His Good Mind, (itself born in us) by His Righteousness.

10. Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage, who in His persistent energy was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda, for He hath appointed in His kingdom, through His holy Order and His Good Mind, both Weal and Immortality, to grant the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation).

11. (Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daeva-gods and alien men, them who before held Him in their derision. Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honour. This latter one is through the Saoshyant's bounteous Faith, who likewise is the Lord of saving power, a friend, brother, or a father to us, Mazda Lord!

PERSONAL SUFFERINGS, HOPES, AND APPEALS

1. To what land to turn; aye, whither turning shall I go? On the part of a kinsman (prince), or allied peer, none, to conciliate, give (offerings) to me (to help my cause), nor yet the throngs of labour, (not) even such as these, nor yet (still less) the evil tyrants of the province. How then shall I (establish well the Faith, and thus) conciliate Thy (grace), O Lord?

2. This know I, Mazda! wherefore I am thus unable to attain my wish, and why my flocks are so reduced in number, and why my following is likewise scant. Therefore I cry to Thee; behold it, Lord! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend. (Therefore to meet my spirit's need, and this as well) declare and teach to me the Good Mind's wealth.

3. When come, Great Giver! they who are the day's enlighteners, to hold the Righteous Order of the world upright, and forward

pressing? When are the schemes of the saviour Saoshyants with (their) lofty revelations (to appear)? To whom for help does he (their chief) approach, who has Thy Good Mind (as his fellow-worker)? Thee, for mine exhorter and commander, Living Lord! I choose.

4. (But e'er these helpers come to me, all rests as yet in gloom.) The evil man is holding back those who are the bearers of the Righteous Order from progress with the Kine, (from progress with the sacred cause) within the region, or the province, he the evil governor, endowed with evil might, consuming life with evil deeds. Wherefore, whoever hurls him from his power, O Mazda! or from life, stores for the Kine in sacred wisdom shall he make.

5. (Yea), he who, as ruler, treats no coming applicant with injury, as a good citizen (or nobly wise) in sacred vow and duty, and living righteously in every covenant, who, as an uncorrupted judge, discerns the wicked (that leader who, rejecting me, would keep back those who propagate the Faith), let him, (this righteous judge,) declare (the vengeance) to that (hostile) lord, (my) kinsman. Yea, let him crush him when he sallies forth (to approach us for our harm)!

6. (And he who leaves him in his guilty error has my curse.) Yea, he who has the power, and will not thus (with stern reproof) approach him, shall go to the abode of the Lie, (and) the enchainer. For he is evil who is the best one to the evil, and he is holy who is friendly to the righteous, as Thou didst fix the moral laws, O Lord!

7. Whom, then, as guard, O Mazda! hast Thou set me then when that wicked one still held me for his hate? Whom (had I) then but Thee, Thy Fire and Mind, Ahura! by deeds performed in which Thy Righteous rule is saved and nurtured? Therefore that spiritual power (vouchsafing me) for the (holy) Faith (its truths) declare.

8. And as to him who (now by evil power) delivers up my settlements to harm, let not his burning (wrath) in deeds attain me. But bearing back the (evil will and evil influence of such), let these things come (back) to him in anger. Let that to his body come which holds from welfare; but let no (help) at all (approach him, which may) keep him back from misery. (And let this happen as I speak) from (vengeful) hate, O Lord!

9. But who is the freely helping one who will teach me foremost how we may adore Thee, Thou the well to be invoked as in Thy deeds, the holy, bountiful Ahura? What (words) the Kine's creator spake for Thee by aid of, and to aid, the Righteous ritual Order, these words of Thine, (Thy people coming) with Thy Good Mind, are seek-

ing now (to gain and learn from) me, O Mazda Lord!

10. Whoever, man or woman, shall give to me those (gifts) of life Thou hast known as best, O Mazda! and as a holy blessing through (Thy) Righteous Order, a throne (established) with (Thy) Good Mind, (with these I shall go forth; yea, those) whom I shall (accompany and so) incite, to the homage of such as You (on earth), forth to the Judge's Bridge (itself) with all of them shall I lead on (at last).

11. (And they and I have every need for help, for now) the Karpan and the Kavi will join in governments to slay the life of man with evil deeds, they whom their own souls and their own conscience will betray. And when they approach there where the Judge's Bridge (extends, unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth with me as guide and helper, these shall miss their path and fall), and in the Lie's abode for ever shall their habitation be.

12. (But for the penitent there is yet hope; for all our former foes shall not thus fall, as from the Kinvat Bridge to woe, for) when from among the tribes and kith of the Turanian, even among the more powerful ones of the Fryana, those shall arise who further on the settlements of Piety with energy and zeal, with these shall Ahura dwell together through His Good Mind (in them), and to them for joyful grace deliver His commands.

13. Yea, he who will propitiate Zarathustra Spitama with gifts midst men, this man is fitted for the proclamation, and to him Ahura Mazda will give the (prospered) life. And he will likewise cause the settlements to thrive in mental goodness. We think him, therefore, Your good companion to (further and maintain) Your Righteousness (and meet for Your approach).

(A voice from among the Chiefs.)

14. (But where is such an one?) Whom hast thou, Zarathustra! thus a holy friend for the great (effort of the) cause? Who is it who thus desires to speak it forth? (Zarathustra answers. Aye, such an one I have.) It is our Kavi Vistaspa, the heroic; (and not he alone, but all) whom thou shalt (as in Thy prophet) meet in the assembly, O Ahura Mazda! these likewise will I call (to my attempt), and with Thy Good Mind's words.

15. O ye Haekat-aspas, Spitamas! to you will I now address my words, since ye discern the things unlawful, and the lawful, for these your actions to establish (firmly on its base) for you the Righteous Order through those which are the Lord's primeval laws.

16. (And to the Hvogvas would I likewise speak.) Thou

Frashaostra Hvogva (whom I see); go thou (forth) with the generous helpers, with those whom we are praying for as for salvation to the land. Go thou where Piety joins hand in hand with the Righteous Order, where are the wished-for Realms of Good Mind, where Mazda in His most honoured home abides,

17. Where in your measured verse I will declare aloud (the praises), not in unmeasured lines, Gamaspa Hvogva! but songs of homage (will I weave) with ever gained Obedience in offering. (And unto Mazda) will I chant them, yea, to Him who will discern aright what things are lawful (or) unlawful (which I thus do, or utter), and with His wonder-working thoughts of Righteousness (attend).

18. (For) whosoever (offers) sanctity to me, to him shall be the best gifts whatsoever. Yea, of my (spirit's) wealth will I bestow on him through Thy Good Mind (which I give), but oppressions will I send on him who as oppressor will deliver us to anguish, O Mazda! desiring, as I do, to satisfy Your choice by righteous (vengeance). This is the decision of mine understanding and my will.

19. (Yea, this I earnestly announce.) He who from Righteousness (in mind and life) shall verily perform for me, for Zarathustra, that which is the most helpful (for my cause) according to my earnest wish (and through my words of urgent zeal) on him shall they bestow reward(s) beyond this earth, with all the mental blessings gained through the sacred mother-kine. And these things (all) did'st Thou (Thyself) command to me, O Mazda, Thou most wise!

K'UNG-FU-TSZE

K'UNG-FU-TSZE (CONFUCIUS) was born in Lu, one of the feudal states of China, in 551 B. C. His father died when K'ung-fu-tsze was three years old. He married at nineteen and at twenty-two began to give that instruction in conduct which was his main life work. Disciples and honor soon came to him. His advice was greatly sought and sometimes followed by the princes of his own and the neighboring provinces. When he was fifty-one he was chief magistrate of the town of Chung-tu, and later assistant general of public works, and minister of crime. Soon afterward he withdrew and spent several years in travel, finding honor everywhere he went, but no princes willing to give full operation to his ideas. He went back to his native province in 483 B. C., and died there in 478 B. C.

His rules of life, as embodied in the sayings reverently collected by his disciples have full force in China to-day.

SAYINGS

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I. 1. The Master said, "Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?

2. "Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters.

3. "Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"

III. The Master said, "Fine words and insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue."

IV. Tsang the philosopher said, "I daily examine myself on three points:—whether, in transacting business for others, I may have been not faithful; whether, in intercourse with friends, I may have been not sincere;—whether I may have not mastered and practiced the instructions of my teacher."

VIII. 1. The Master said, "If the scholar be not grave, he will not call forth any veneration, and his learning will not be solid.

2. "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles.

3. "Have no friends not equal to yourself.

4. "When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

XI. The Master said, "I will not be afflicted at men's not knowing me; I will be afflicted that I do not know men."

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I. The Master said, "He who exercises government by means of his virtue, may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it."

II. The Master said, "In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in *that* one sentence—'Have no depraved thoughts.'"

III. 1. The Master said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid *the punishment*, but have no sense of shame.

2. "If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good."

IV. 1. The Master said, "At fifteen I had my mind bent on learning.

2. "At thirty, I stood firm.

3. "At forty, I had no doubts.

4. "At fifty, I knew the decrees of heaven.

5. "At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ *for the reception of truth*.

6. "At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right."

XI. The Master said, "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others."

XIII. Tsze-kung asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions."

XV. The Master said, "Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous."

XVII. The Master said, "Yew, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it;—and when you do not know a thing, to allow you do not know it;—this is knowledge."

XVIII. 1. Tsze-chang was learning with a view to official emolument.

2. The Master said, "Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others:—then you will afford few occasions for blame. See much and put aside the things which seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying others into practice:—then you will have few occasions for repentance. When one gives few occasions for blame in his words, and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument."

XIX. The Duke Gae asked, saying, "What should be done in order to secure the submission of the people?" Confucius replied, "Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit. Advance the crooked and set aside the upright, then the people will not submit."

BOOK III.

CHAPTER IV. 1. Lin Fang asked what was the first thing to be attentive to in ceremonies.

2. The Master said, "A great question indeed!"

3. "In *festive* ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant. In the ceremonies of mourning it is better that there be deep sorrow than a minute attention to observances."

XII. 1. He sacrificed *to the dead*, as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.

2. The Master said, "I consider my not being present at the sacrifice, as if I did not sacrifice."

XVI. The Master said, "In archery it is not *going through* the

leather which is the principal thing;—because people's strength is not equal. This is the old way."

XVIII. 1. Tze-kung wished to do away with the offering of a sheep connected with the inauguration of the first day of each month.

2. The Master said, "Tsze, you love the sheep; I love the ceremony."

XVIII. The Master said, "The full observance of the rules of propriety in serving one's prince is accounted by people to be flattery."

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I. The Master said, "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man is selecting a residence do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?"

II. The Master said, "Those who are without virtue cannot abide long either in a condition of poverty and hardship, or in a condition of enjoyment. The virtuous rest in virtue; the wise desire virtue."

III. The Master said, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love, or who can hate, others."

IV. The Master said, "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness."

V. 1. The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be avoided.

2. "If the superior man abandon virtue, how can he fulfill the requirements of that name?

3. "The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it."

VI. 1. The Master said, "I have not seen a person who loved virtue, or one who hated what was not virtuous. He who hated what is not virtuous, would practice virtue in such a way that he would not allow anything that is not virtuous to approach his person.

2. "Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the case in which his strength would be insufficient.

3. "Should there possibly be any such case, I have not seen it."

VII. The Master said, "The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong. By observing a man's faults, it may be known that he is virtuous."

VIII. The Master said, "If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret."

IX. The Master said, "A scholar, whose mind is set on truth, and who is ashamed of bad clothes and bad food, is not fit to be discoursed with."

X. The Master said, "The superior man, in the world, does not set his mind for anything, or against anything; what is right he will follow."

XI. The Master said, "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours *which he may receive*."

XII. The Master said, "He who acts with a constant view to his own advantage will be much murmured against."

XII. The Master said, "Is a *prince* able to govern his kingdom with the complaisance proper to the rules of propriety, what difficulty will he have? If he cannot govern it with that complaisance, what has he to do with the rules of propriety?"

XIV. The Master said, "*A man should say*, I am not concerned that I have no place,—I am concerned how I may fit myself for one. I am not concerned that I am not known,—I seek to be worthy to be known."

XV. 1. The Master said, "Sin, my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity." Tsang the philosopher replied, "Yes."

2. The Master went out and the *other* disciples asked, saying, "What do his words mean?" Tsang said, "The doctrine of our Master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others,—this and nothing more."

XVI. The Master said, "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain."

XVII. The Master said, "When we see men of worth, we should think of equaling them; when we see men of contrary character, we should turn inwards and examine ourselves."

XVIII. The Master said, "In serving his parents, a *son* may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow *his advice*, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon *his purpose*; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur."

XIX. The Master said, "While his parents are alive, *the son* may not go abroad to a distance. If he does go abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes."

XX. The Master said, "If the son for three years does not alter

from the way of his father, he may be called a filial."

XXI. The Master said, "The years of the parents may by no means not be kept in the memory, as an occasion at once for joy and for fear."

XXII. The Master said, "The reason why the ancients did not readily give utterance to their words, was that they feared lest their actions should not come up to them."

XXIII. The Master said, "The cautious seldom err."

XXIV. The Master said, "The superior man wishes to be slow in his words and earnest in his conduct."

XXV. The Master said, "Virtue is not left to stand alone. *He who practices it* will have neighbours."

XXVI. Tsze-yew said, "In serving a prince, frequent remonstrances lead to disgrace. Between friends, frequent reproofs make the friendship distant."

BOOK V.

XII. Tsze-kung said, "The Master's *personal* displays of his *principles* and *ordinary* descriptions of them may be heard. His discourse about *man's* nature, and the way to Heaven, cannot be heard."

XII. When Tsze-loo heard anything, if he had not yet carried it into practice, he was only afraid lest he should hear *something else*.

XXIII. The Master said, "Who says Wei-shang Kaou that he is upright? One begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it of a neighbour and gave it him."

XXIV. The Master said, "Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect;—Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of them. I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him;—Tso-k'ew Ming was ashamed of such conduct. I also am ashamed of it."

XXV. 1. Yen Yuen and Ke loo being by his side, the Master said to them, "Come, let each of you tell his wishes."

2. Tsze-loo said, "I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur dresses, to share them with my friends, and though they should spoil them, I would not be displeased."

3. Yen Yuen said, "I should like not to boast of my excellence, nor to make a display of my meritorious deeds."

4. Tsze-loo then said, "I should like, sir, to hear your wishes." The Master said, "*they are*, in regard to the aged, to give them rest; in regard to friends, to show them sincerity; in regard to the young, to

treat them tenderly."

XXVI. The Master said, "It is all over! I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults, and inwardly accuse himself."

XXVII. The Master said, "In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honourable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning."

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER XVI. The Master said, "Where the solid qualities are in excess of accomplishments, we have rusticity; where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk. When the accomplishments and solid qualities are equally blended, we then have the man of complete virtue."

XXVII. The Master said, "Man is born for uprightness. If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape *from death* is the effect of mere good fortune."

XXVIII. The Master said, "They who know *the truth* are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it are not equal to those who find delight in it."

XXIV. Tsae Wo asked, saying, "A benevolent man, though it be told him,—'There is a man in the well,' will go after him, I suppose," Confucius said, "Why should he do so? A superior man may be made to go *to the well*, but he cannot be made to go down into it. He may be imposed upon, but he cannot be befooled."

XXV. The Master said, "The superior man, extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right."

XXVI. The Master having visited Nan-tsze, Esze-loo was displeased, on which the Master swore, saying, "Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me! may Heaven reject me!"

XXVII. The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Constant Mean! Rare for a long time has been its practice among the people."

XXVIII. 1. Tsze-kung said, "Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?" The Master said, "Why speak only of virtue in connection with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yaou and Shun were still solicitous about this.

2. "Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established him-

self, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others.

3. "To be able to judge *of others* by what is nigh *in ourselves*;—this may be called the art of virtue."

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I. The Master said, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang."

II. The Master said, "The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied:—what one of these things belongs to me?"

III. The Master said, "The leaving without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good:—these are the things which occasion me solicitude."

IV. When the Master was unoccupied with business, his manner was easy and he looked pleased.

V. The Master said, "Extreme is my decay. For a long time I have not dreamed, as I was wont to do, that I saw the Duke of Chow."

VI 1. The Master said, "Let the will be set on the path of duty.

2. "Let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped.

3. "Let perfect virtue be accorded with.

4. "Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts."

VII. The Master said, "From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh *for my teaching* upwards, I have never refused instruction to anyone."

VIII. The Master said, "I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager *to get knowledge*, nor help out anyone who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to anyone, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."

IX. 1. When the Master was eating by the side of a mourner, he never ate to the full.

2. He did not sing on the same day in which he had been weeping.

X. 1. The Master said to Yen Yuen, "When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired;—it is only I and you who have attained to this."

2. Tsze-loo said, "If you had the conduct of the armies of a

great State, whom would you have to act with you?"

3. The Master said, "I would not have him to act with me, who will unarmed attack a tiger, or cross a river without a boat, dying without any regret. My associate must be the man who proceeds to action full of solicitude, who is fond of adjusting his plans, and then carries them into execution."

XI. The Master said, "If the search for riches is sure to be successful, though I should become a servant with whip in hand to get them, I will do so. As the search may not be successful, I will follow after that which I love."

XII. The things in reference to which the Master exercised the greatest caution were—fasting, war, and sickness.

XII. When the Master was in T'se, he heard the Shaou, and for three months did not know the taste of flesh. "I did not think," he said, "that music could have been made so excellent as this."

XIV. 1. Yen Yew said, "Is our Master for the prince of Wei?" Tsze-kung said, "Oh! I will ask him."

2. He went in *accordingly*, and said, "What sort of men were Pih-e and Shuh-ts'e?" "They were ancient worthies," said the Master. "Did they have any repinings *because of their course?*" The Master again replied, "They sought to act virtuously, and they did so; what was there for them to repine about?" On this, *Tsze-kung* went out and said, "Our Master is not for him."

XV. The Master said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow;—I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honours acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud."

XVI. The Master said, "If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the *YIH*, and then I might come to be without great faults."

XVII. The Master's frequent themes of discourse were—the Odes, the Book of History, and the maintenance of the Rules of propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed.

XVIII. 1. The duke of She asked Tsze-loo about Confucius, and Tsze-loo did not answer him.

2. The Master said, "Why did you not say to him,—He is simply a man, who in his eager pursuit of knowledge forgets his food, who in the joy of the attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on?"

XIX. The Master said, "I am not one who was born in the pos-

session of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it *there*."

XX. The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were,—prodigious things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings.

XXI. The Master said, "When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them."

XXII. The Master said, "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T'uy—what can he do to me?"

XXIII. The Master said, "Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing which I do which is not shown to you, my disciples:—that is my way."

XXIV. There were four things which the Master taught,—letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness.

XXV. 1. The Master said, "A sage it is not mine to see; could I see a man of real talent and virtue, that would satisfy me."

2. The Master said, "A good man it is not mine to see; could I see a man possessed of constancy, that would satisfy me."

3. "Having not and yet affecting to have, empty and yet affecting to be full, straitened and yet affecting to be at ease;—it is difficult with such characteristics to have constancy."

XXVI. The Master angled,—but did not use a net. He shot,—but not at birds perching.

XXVII. The Master said, "There may be those who act without knowing why. I do not do so. Hearing much and selecting what is good and following it, seeing much and keeping it in memory:—this is the second style of knowledge."

XXVIII. 1. It was difficult to talk with the people of Hoo-heang, and a lad of that place having had an interview with the Master, the disciples doubted.

2. The Master said, "I admit people's approach to me without committing myself *as to what they may do* when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me I receive him so purified, without guaranteeing his past conduct."

XXIX. The Master said, "Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand."

XXX. 1. The Minister of crime of Ch'in asked whether the Duke Ch'aou knew propriety, and Confucius said, "He knew propriety."

2. Confucius having retired, the minister bowed to Woo-ma K'e to come forward, and said, "I have heard that the superior man is not

a partisan. May the superior man be a partisan also? The prince married a daughter of *the house of Woo*, of the same surname with himself, and called her,—‘The elder *lady Tsze of Woo*.’ If the prince knew propriety, who does not know it?”

3. Woo-ma K'e reported these remarks, and the Master said, “I am fortunate! If I have any errors people are sure to know them.”

XXXI. When the Master was in company with a person who was singing, if he sang well, he would make him repeat the song, while he accompanied in his own voice.

XXXII. The Master said, “In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but *the character of the superior man*, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained to.”

XXXIII. The Master said, “The sage and the man of perfect virtue;—how dare I *rank myself with them*? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness.” Kung-se Hwa said, “This is just what we, the disciples, cannot imitate you in.”

XXXIV. The Master being very sick, Tsze-loo asked leave to pray for him. He said, “May such a thing be done?” Tsze-loo replied, “It may. In the Prayers it is said, ‘Prayer has been made to you, the spirits of the upper and lower worlds.’” The Master said, “My praying has been for a long time.”

XXXV. The Master said, “Extravagance leads to insubordination, and parsimony to meanness. It is better to be mean than to be insubordinate.”

XXXVI. The Master said, “The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean is always full of distress.”

XXXVII. The Master was mild and yet dignified; majestic, and yet not fierce; respectful, and yet easy.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER II. 1. The Master said, “Respectfulness without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination; straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness.

2. “When those who are in the high stations perform well all their duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue. When old ministers and friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness.”

III. Tsang the philosopher being sick, he called to him the disciples of his school, and said, "Uncover my feet, uncover my hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice,' *and so have I been.* Now and hereafter, I know my escape *from all injury to my person*, O ye, my little children."

VIII. 1. The Master said, "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused.

2. "It is by the Rules of propriety that the character is established.

3. "It is from Music that the finish is received."

IX. The Master said, "The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it."

X. The Master said, "The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme."

XI. The Master said, "Though a man have abilities as admirable as those of the Duke of Chow, yet if he be proud and niggardly, those other things are really not worth being looked at."

XII. The Master said, "It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good."

XIII. 1. The Master said, "With sincere faith he unites the love of learning; holding firm to death, he is perfecting the excellence of his course.

2. "*Such an one* will not enter a tottering state, nor dwell in a disorganized one. When right principles of government prevail in the empire, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed.

3. "When a country is well governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is ill governed, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of."

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I. The subjects of which the Master seldom spoke were—profitableness, and also the appointments of *Heaven*, and perfect virtue.

II. 1. A man of the village of Ta-heang said, "Great indeed is the philosopher K'ung! His learning is extensive, and yet he does not render his name famous by any *particular* thing."

2. The Master heard the observation, and said to his disciples,

"What shall I practice? Shall I practice charioteering, or shall I practice archery? I will practice charioteering."

IV. There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.

IX. When the Master saw a person in mourning dress, or any one with the cap and upper and lower garments of full dress, or a blind person, on observing them *approaching*, though they were younger than himself, he would rise up, and if he had to pass by them, he would do so hastily.

X. 1. Yen Yuen, *in admiration of the Master's doctrines*, sighed and said, "I looked up to them, and they *seemed to become* more high; I tried to penetrate them, and they *seemed to become* more firm; I looked at them before me, and suddenly they *seemed to be behind*."

2. "The Master, by orderly method, skillfully leads men on. He enlarged my mind with learning, and taught me the restraints of propriety."

3. "When I wish to give over *the study of his doctrines*, I cannot do so, and having exerted all my ability, there seems something to stand right up before me; but though I wish to follow *and lay hold of it*, I really find no way to do so."

XV. The Master, "Abroad, to serve the high ministers and officers; at home, to serve one's father and elder brother; in all duties to the dead, not to dare not to exert one's-self; and not to be overcome of wine:—what one of these things do I attain to?"

XVII. The Master said, "I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

XXII. The Master said, "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to *our* present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect."

XXV. The Master said, "The commander of the forces of a large State may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him."

XXVI. 1. The Master said, "Dressed himself in a tattered robe quilted with hemp, yet standing beside men dressed in furs, and not ashamed;—ah! it is Yew who is equal to this."

2. "'He dislikes none, he covets nothing!—what does he do which is not good?'"

3. Tsze-loo kept continually repeating these *words of the ode*,

when the Master said, "Those ways are by no means sufficient to constitute perfect excellence."

XXIX. The Master said, "There are some with whom we may study in common, but we shall find them unable to go along with us to principles. Perhaps we may go on with them to principles, but we shall find them unable to get established in those along with us. Or if we may get so established along with them, we shall find them unable to weigh *occurring events* along with us."

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I. 1. Confucius, in his village, looked simple and sincere, and as if he were one who was not able to speak.

2. When he was in the *prince's* ancestral temple, or in court, he spoke minutely on every point, but cautiously.

II. 1. When he was waiting at court, in speaking with the officers of the lower grade, he spoke freely, but in a straightforward manner; in speaking with the officers of the higher grade, he did so blandly, but precisely.

2. When the prince was present, his manner displayed respectful uneasiness; it was grave, but self-possessed.

III. 1. When the prince called him to employ him in the reception of a visitor, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to bend beneath him.

2. He inclined himself to the *other officers* among whom he stood, moving his left or right arm, *as their position required*, but keeping the skirts of his robe before and behind evenly adjusted.

3. He hastened forward, *with his arms* like the wings of a bird.

4. When the guest had retired, he would report to the prince, "The visitor is not turning round any more."

IV. 1. When he entered the palace gate, he seemed to bend his body, as if it were not sufficient to admit him.

2. When he was standing, he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread upon the threshold.

3. When he was passing the *vacant place of the prince*, his countenance appeared to change, his legs to bend under him, and his words came like those of one who hardly had breath to utter them.

4. He ascended the dais, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath also, as if he dared not breathe.

5. When he came out *from the audience*, as soon as he had descended one step, he began to relax his countenance, and had a satis-

fied look. When he had got to the bottom of the steps, he advanced rapidly to his place, *with his arms* like wings, and occupying it, his manner *still* showed respectful uneasiness.

V. 1. When he was carrying the sceptre *of his prince*, he seemed to bend his body, as if it were not able to bear its weight. He did not hold it higher than the position of the hands in making a bow, nor lower than their position in giving anything to another. His countenance seemed to change, and look apprehensive, and he dragged his feet along as if they were held by something to the ground.

2. In presenting the presents *with which he was charged*, he wore a placid appearance.

3. At his private audience, he looked highly pleased.

VI. 1. The superior man did not use a deep purple, or a puce colour, in the ornaments of his dress.

2. Even in his undress, he did not wear anything of a red or reddish colour.

3. In warm weather, he had a single garment either of coarse or fine fixture, but he wore it displayed over an inner garment.

4. Over lamb's fur he wore a garment of black; over fawn's fur one of white; and over fox's fur one of yellow.

5. The fur robe of his undress was long, with the right sleeve short.

6. He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body.

7. When staying at home, he used thick furs of the fox or the badger.

8. When he put off mourning, he wore all the appendages of the girdle.

9. His under garment, except when it required to be of the curtain shape, was made of silk cut narrow above and wide below.

10. He did not wear lamb's fur, or a black cap, on a visit of condolence.

11. On the first day of the month, he put on his court robes, and presented himself at court.

VII. 1. When fasting, he thought it necessary to have his clothes brightly clean, and made of linen cloth.

2. When fasting, he thought it necessary to change his food, and also to change the place where he commonly sat in the apartment.

VII. 1. He did not dislike to have his rice finely cleaned, nor to have his minced meat cut quite small.

2. He did not eat rice which had been injured by heat or damp and turned sour, nor fish or flesh which was gone. He did not eat what was discoloured; nor what was of a bad flavour; nor anything which was badly cooked; nor that which was not in season.

3. He did not eat meat which was not cut properly, nor what was served without its proper sauce.

4. Though there might be a large quantity of meat, he would not allow what he took to exceed the due proportion for the rice. It was only in wine that he laid down no limit for himself, but he did not allow himself to be confused by it.

5. He did not partake of wine and dried meat bought in the market.

6. He was never without ginger when he ate.

7. He did not eat much.

8. When he had been *assisting* at the ducal sacrifice, he did not keep the flesh *which he received* over night. The flesh of his *family* sacrifice he did not keep over three days. If kept over three days people could not eat it.

9. When eating, he did not converse. When in bed, he did not speak.

10. Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer *a little of it* in sacrifice with a grave respectful air.

IX. If his mat was not straight, he did not sit on it.

X. 1. When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staves going out, he went out immediately after.

2. When the villagers were going through their ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences, he put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps.

XI. 1. When he was sending complimentary inquiries to any one in another state, he bowed twice as he escorted the messenger away.

2. Ke K'ang having sent him a present of physic, he bowed and received it, saying, "I do not know it. I dare not taste it."

XII. The stable being burned down, when he was at court, on his return he said, "Has any man been hurt?" He did not ask about the horses.

XIII. 1. When the prince sent him a gift of *cooked* meat, he would adjust his mat, *first taste it, and then give it away to others*. When the prince sent him a gift of undressed meat, he would have it cooked, and offer it *to the spirits of his ancestors*. When the prince sent him a gift of a living animal, he would keep it alive.

2. When he was in attendance on the prince and joining in the entertainment, the prince only sacrificed; but he first tasted everything.

3. When he was sick and the prince came to visit him, he had his head to the east, made his court robes be spread over him, and drew his girdle across them.

4. When the prince's order called him, without waiting for his carriage to be yoked, he went at once.

XIV. When he entered the ancestral temple of the state, he asked about everything.

XV. 1. When any of his friends died, if he had no relations who could be depended on for the necessary offices, he would say, "I will bury him."

2. When a friend sent him a present, though it might be a carriage and horses, he did not bow. The only present for which he bowed was that of the flesh of sacrifice.

XVI. 1. In bed, he did not lie like a corpse. At home, he did not put on any formal deportment.

2. When he saw any one in a mourning dress, though it might be an acquaintance, he would change countenance; when he saw any one wearing the cap of full dress, or a blind person, though he might be in his undress, he would salute them in a ceremonious manner.

3. To any person in mourning he bowed forward to the crossbar of his carriage; he bowed in the same way to any one bearing the tables of population.

4. When he was at an entertainment where there was an abundance of provisions set before him, he would change countenance and rise up.

5. On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change countenance.

XVII. 1. When he was about to mount his carriage, he would stand straight, holding the cord.

2. When he was in the carriage, he did not turn his head quite round, he did not talk hastily, he did not point with his hands.

XVIII. 1. *Seeing* the countenance, it instantly rises. It flies round, and by-and-by settles.

2. *The Master* said, "There is the hen-pheasant on the hill bridge. At its season! At its season!" Tsze-loo made a motion to it. Thrice it smelt him and then rose. (?)

BOOK XI.

CHAPTER XI. Kee Loo asked about serving the spirits of *the dead*. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve *their* spirits?" *Kee Loo added*, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER I. 1. Yen Yuen asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is a perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?"

2. Yen Yuen said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process." The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." Yen Yuen *then* said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practice this lesson."

II. Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "*It is*, when you go abroad, *to behave to every one* as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; *not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself*; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family." Chung-kung said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practice this lesson."

III. 1. Sze-ma New asked about perfect virtue.

2. The Master said, "The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in his speech."

3. "Cautious and slow in his speech!" said *New*;—"is this what is meant by perfect virtue?" The Master said, "When a man feels the difficulty of doing, can he be other than cautious and slow in speaking?"

IV. 1. Sze-ma New asked about the superior man. The Master said, "The superior man has neither anxiety or fear."

2. "Being without anxiety or fear!" said *New*;—"does this constitute what we call the superior man?"

3. The Master said, "When internal examination discovers no wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

V. 1. Sze-ma New, full of anxiety, said, "*Other* men all have

their brothers, I only have not."

2. Tsze-hea said to him, "There is the following saying which I have heard:—

3. " 'Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honours depend upon Heaven.'

4. "Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety:—then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"

VI. Tsze-chang asked what constituted intelligence. The Master said, "He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks *into the mind*, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful, may be called intelligent indeed. Yea, he with whom neither soaking slander, nor startling statements, are successful, may be called far-seeing."

VII. 1. Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, "*The requisites of government are* that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

2. Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment," said the Master.

3. Tsze-kung *again* asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith *in their rulers*, there is no standing *for the State*."

VII. 1. Kih Tsze-shing said, "In a superior man it is only the substantial qualities which are wanted;—why should we seek for ornamental accomplishments?"

2. Tsze-kung said, "Alas! Your words, sir, show you to be a superior man, but four horses cannot overtake the tongue.

"Ornament is as substance; substance is as ornament. The hide of a tiger or leopard stript of its hair is like the hide of a dog or a goat stript of its hair."

IX. 1. The Duke Gae inquired of Yew Jo, saying, "The year is one of scarcity, and *the returns for* expenditure are not sufficient;—what is to be done?"

2. Yew Jo replied to him, "Why not simply tithe the people."

3. "With two tenths," said the duke, "I find them not enough;—how could I do with that system of one tenth?"

4. Yew Jo answered, "If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone."

X. 1. Tsze-chang having asked how virtue was to be exalted, and delusions to be discovered, the Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving continually to what is right;—this is the way to exalt one's virtue.

2. "You love a man and wish him to live; you hate him and wish him to die. Having wished him to live, you also wish him to die. This is a case of delusion.

3. "'It may not be on account of his being rich, yet you come to make a difference.'"

XI. 1. The Duke King, of Ts'e, asked Confucius about government.

2. Confucius replied, "*There is government*, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son."

3. "Good!" said the duke; "if indeed, the prince be not prince, the minister not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, although I have revenue, can I enjoy it?"

XII. 1. The Master said, "Ah! it is Yew, who could with half a word settle litigations!"

2. Tsze-loo never slept over a promise.

XIII. The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, is to cause *the people* to have no litigations."

XIV. Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, "*The art of governing* is to keep *its affairs* before the mind without weariness, and to practice them with undeviating consistency."

XV. The Master said, "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, *one* may thus likewise not err from what is right."

XVI. The Master said, "The superior man *seeks* to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not *seek* to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."

XVII. Ke K'ang asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on *the people* with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

XVIII. Ke Ke-ang, distressed about the number of thieves *in the State*, inquired of Confucius *about how to do away with them*. Con-

fucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."

XIX. Ke K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your *evinced* desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows across it."

XX. 1. Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?"

2. The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?"

3. Tsze-chang replied, "It is to be heard of through the State, to be heard of through the Family."

4. The Master said, "That is notoriety, not distinction."

5. "Now, the man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people's words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. Such a man will be distinguished in the country; he will be distinguished in the Family."

6. "As to the man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of virtue, but his actions are opposed to it, and he rests in this character without any doubts *about himself*. Such a man will be heard of in the country; he will be heard of in the Family."

XXI. 1. Fan-ch'e rambling with the Master under *the trees* about the rain-altars, said, "I venture to ask how to exalt virtue, to correct cherished evil, and to discover delusions."

2. The Master said, "Truly a good question!"

3. "If doing what is to be done is to be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration;—is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one's own wickedness and not assail that of others;—is not this the way to correct cherished evil? For a morning's anger, to disregard one's own life, and involve that of one's parents;—is not this a case of delusion?"

XXII. 1. Fan Ch'e asked about benevolence. The Master said, "It is to love all men." He asked about knowledge. The Master said, "It is to know *all men*."

2. Fan Ch'e did not immediately understand *these answers*.

3. The Master said, "Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked;—in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."

4. Fan Ch'e retired, and seeing Tsze-hea, he said to him, "A little ago, I had an interview with our Master, and asked him about knowledge. He said, 'Employ the upright, and put aside all the crooked;—in this way, the crooked can be made to be upright.' What did he mean?"

5. Tsze-hea said, "Truly rich is his saying!"

6. "Shun, being in possession of the empire, selected from among all the people, and employed Kao-yaou, on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared. T'ang being in possession of the empire selected from among all the people, and employed E-Yin, and all who were devoid of virtue disappeared."

XXIII. Tsze-kung asked about friendship. The Master said, "Faithfully admonish *your friend*, and kindly try to lead him. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself."

XXIV. The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man on literary grounds meets with his friends, and by their friendship helps his virtue."

BOOK XIII.

CHAPTER X. The Master said, "If there were any of the princes who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, the *government* would be perfected."

XI. The Master said, "If good men were to govern a country in *succession* for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments. True indeed is this saying!"

XII. The Master said, "If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would *still* require a generation, and then virtue would prevail."

XIII. The Master said, "If a minister make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

XIV. The disciple Yen returning from the court, the Master said to him, "How are you so late?" He replied, "We had government business." The Master said, "It must have been Family affairs. If there had been government business, though I am not now in office, I should have been consulted about it."

XV. 1. The Duke Ting asked whether there was a single sentence which could make a country prosperous. Confucius replied, "Such an effect cannot be expected from one sentence."

2. "There is a saying, however, which people have—"To be a prince is difficult; to be a minister is not easy."

3. "If a ruler knows this,—the difficulty of being a prince,—may there not be expected from this one sentence the prosperity of his country?"

4. *The duke then said*, "Is there a single sentence which can ruin a country?" Confucius replied, "Such an effect as that cannot be expected from one sentence. There is, *however*, the saying which people have—"I have no pleasure in being a prince, only in that no one offer any opposition to what I say!"

5. "If a ruler's words be good, is it not also good that no one oppose them? But if they are not good, and no one opposes them, may there not be expected from this one sentence the ruin of his country?"

XVI. 1. The duke of She asked about government.

2. The Master said, "*Good government obtains, when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted.*"

XVII. Tsze-hea, being governor of Keu-foo, asked about government. The Master said, "Do not be desirous to have things done quickly; do not look at small advantages. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. Looking at small advantages prevents great affairs from being accomplished."

XVIII. 1. The duke of She informed Confucius, saying, "Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact."

2. Confucius said, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

XXV. The Master said, "The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything."

XXIX. The Master said, "Let a good man teach the people seven years, and they may likewise be employed in war."

XXX. The Master said, "To lead an uninstructed people to war is to throw them away."

BOOK XIV.

CHAPTER I. Heen asked what might be considered shameful. The Master said, "When good government prevails in a State, *to be thinking only of his salary*; and, when bad government prevails, *to be thinking in the same way, only of his salary*;—this is shameful."

VIII. The Master said, "Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?"

XI. The Master said, "To be poor without murmuring is difficult. To be rich without being proud is easy."

XXII. 1. Ch'in Ch'ing murdered the Duke Keen of Ts'e.

2. Confucius bathed, went to court, and informed the Duke Gae, saying, "Ch'in Hang has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him."

3. The duke said, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."

4. Confucius *retired*, and said, "Following, *as I do*, in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, 'Inform the chiefs of the three families of it.'"

5. He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius *then* said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter."

XXIII. Tsze-loo asked how a sovereign should be served. The Master said, "Do not impose on him, and, moreover, withstand him to his face."

XXVI. 1. Keu Pih-yuh sent a messenger *with friendly inquiries* to Confucius.

2. Confucius sat with him, and questioned him. "What," said he, "is your master engaged in?" The messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." He then went out, and the Master said, "A messenger indeed! A messenger indeed!"

XXXII. The Master said, "I will not be concerned at men's not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability."

XXXIII. The Master said, "He who does not anticipate attempts to deceive him, nor think beforehand of his not being believed, and yet apprehends these things readily when they occur;—is he not a man of superior worth?"

XXXVI. 1. Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"

2. The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness?"

3. "Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."

XXXVII. 1. The Master said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me."

2. Tsze-kung said, "What do you mean by thus saying—that no one knows you?" The Master replied, "I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven;—that knows me!"

XLVI. Yuen Jang was squatting on his heels, and so waited *the approach* of the Master, who said to him; "In youth, not humble as benefits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age:—this is to be a pest." With this he hit him on the shank with his staff.

BOOK XV.

CHAPTER II 1. The Master said, "Ts'ze, you think, I suppose, that I am one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?"

2. Tsze-kung replied, "Yes,—but perhaps it is not so?"

3. "No," was the answer; "I *seek* a unity all-pervading."

XI. The Master said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

XIV. The Master said, "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from *being the object of* resentment."

XV. The Master said, "When a man is not *in the habit of* saying—'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him!"

XX. The Master said, "What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others."

XXIII. Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not RECIPROCITY such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

XXXIV. The Master said, "Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue."

XXXV. The Master said, "Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it *even to*

his teacher."

XXXVI. The Master said, "The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely."

BOOK XVI.

CHAPTER IV. Confucius said, "There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; and friendship with the man of much observation:—these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs; friendship with the insinuatingly soft; and friendship with the glib-tongued:—these are injurious."

VII. Confucius said, "There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth, when the physical powers are not yet settled, he guards against lust. When he is strong, and the physical powers are full of vigour, he guards against quarrelsomeness. When he is old, and the animal powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness."

VIII. 1. Confucius said, "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.

2. "The mean man does not know the ordinances of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to great men. He makes sport of the words of sages."

XIII. 1. Ch'in K'ang asked Pih-yu, saying, "Have you heard any lessons *from your father* different *from what we have all heard?*"

2. Pih-yu replied, "No. He was standing alone once, when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you learned the Odes? On my replying, 'Not yet,' *he added*, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' I retired and studied the Odes.

3. "Another day, he was in the same way standing alone, when I passed by below the hall with hasty steps, and he said to me, 'Have you learned the rules of Propriety?' On my replying, 'Not yet,' *he added*, 'If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established.' I then retired, and studied the rules of Propriety.

4. "I have heard only these two things from him."

5. Ch'in K'ang retired, and, quite delighted, said, "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes. I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the

superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son."

BOOK XVII.

CHAPTER I 1. Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but Confucius would not go to see him. *On this*, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects *for the gift*. He met him, *however*, on the way.

2. Ho said to Confucius, "Come, let me speak with you." He then asked, "Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?" Confucius replied, "No." "Can he be called wise who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?" Confucius again said, "No." "The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us." Confucius said, "Right; I will go into office."

II. The Master said, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart."

III. The Master said, "There are only the wise of the highest class, and the stupid of the lowest class, who cannot be changed."

VI. 1. Tsze-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, "To be able to practice five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue." He begged to ask what they were, and was told, "Gravity, generosity *of soul*, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous, you will win all. If you are sincere, people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest, you will accomplish much. If you are kind, this will enable you to employ the services of others."

VII. 1. The Master said, "Yew, have you heard the six words to which are attached six becloudings?" Yew replied, "I have not."

2. "Sit down, and I will tell them to you.

3. "There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct."

XII. The Master said, "He who puts on an appearance of stern

firmness, while inwardly he is weak, is like one of the small, mean people;—yea, is he not like the thief who breaks through or climbs over a wall?"

XIV. The Master said, "To tell, as we go along, what we have heard on the way, is to cast away our virtue."

XVIII. The Master said, "I hate the manner in which purple takes away *the lustre of* vermillion. I hate the way in which the songs of Ch'ing confound the music of the Ya. I hate those who with their sharp mouths overthrow kingdoms and families."

XIX. 1. The Master said, "I would prefer not speaking."

2. Tsze-kung said, "If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?"

3. The Master said, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are *continually* being produced, *but* does Heaven say anything?"

XXI. 1. Tsae Wo asked about the three years' mourning *for parents, saying* that one year was long enough.

2. "If the superior man," said he, "abstains for three years from the observances of propriety, those observances will be quite lost. If for three years he abstains from music, music will be ruined.

3. "*Within a year*, the old grain is exhausted, and the new grain has sprung up, and, in procuring fire by friction, we go through all the changes of wood for that purpose. After a complete year the mourning may stop."

4. The Master said, "If you were, *after a year*, to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?" "I should," replied Wo.

5. The Master said, "If you can feel at ease, do it. But a superior man, during the whole period of mourning, does not enjoy pleasant food which he may eat, or derive pleasure from music which he may hear. He also does not feel at ease, if he is comfortably lodged. Therefore he does not do what *you propose*. But now you feel at ease and may do it."

6. Tsae Wo then went out, and the Master said, "This shows Yu's want of virtue. It is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three years' mourning is universally observed throughout the empire. Did Yu enjoy the three years' affection for his parents?"

XXII. The Master said, "Hard is the case of him, who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything *good!* Are there not gamblers and chess-players? To be one of these

would still be better than doing nothing at all."

XXIII. Tsze-loo said, "Does the superior man esteem valour?" The Master said, "The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a superior situation, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people, having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery."

XXIV. 1. Tsze-kung said, "Has the superior man his hatreds also?" The Master said, "He has his hatreds. He hates those who proclaim the evil of others. He hates the man who, being in a low station, slanders his superiors. He hates those who have valour *merely*, and are unobservant of propriety. He hates those who are forward and determined, and, *at the same time*, of contracted understanding."

2. *The Master then inquired*, "Ts'ze, have you also your hatreds?" *Tsze-kung replied*, "I hate those who pry out matters, and ascribe the knowledge to their wisdom. I hate those who are *only* not modest, and think that they are valorous. I hate those who make known secrets, and think that they are straightforward."

XXV. The Master said, "Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented."

XXVI. The Master said, "When a man at forty is the object of dislike he will always continue what he is."

BOOK XVIII.

CHAPTER VI. 1. Ch'ang-tseu and Kee-neih were at work in the field together, when Confucius passed by them, and sent Tsze-loo to inquire for the ford.

2. Ch'ang-tseu said, "Who is he that holds the reins in the carriage there?" Tsze-loo told him, "It is K'ung K'ew." "Is it not K'ung K'ew of Loo?" asked he. "Yes," was the reply, to which the other rejoined, "He knows the ford."

3. *Tsze-loo then inquired* of Kee-neih, who said to him, "Who are you, Sir?" He answered, "I am Chung Yew." "Are you not the disciple of K'ung K'ew of Loo?" asked the other. "I am," replied he; and then Kee-neih said to him, "Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change it *for you*? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one, had you not better follow those who have withdrawn from the world altogether?" *With this* he fell to covering up the seed, *and proceeded with his work*,

without stopping.

4. Tsze-loo went and reported their remarks, when his master observed with a sigh, "It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people,—with mankind,—with whom shall I associate? If right principles prevailed through the empire, there would be no use for me to change its state."

INSCRIPTION OF SENNACHERIB.

Translated by H. F. Talbot, F. R. S., from the original cylinders preserved in the British Museum. Relates conquests, campaigns, building of temples and palaces, irrigating systems, and siege of Jerusalem.

SENNACHERIB, the great King, the powerful King, the King of Assyria, the King unrivalled, the pious monarch, the worshipper of the great gods. The protector of the just: the lover of the righteous: . . . The noble warrior, the valiant hero, the first of all Kings, the great punisher of unbelievers, who are breakers of the holy festivals.

ASHUR, the great Lord, has given to me an unrivalled monarchy. Over all Princes he has raised triumphantly my arms.

In the beginning of my reign I defeated **MARDUK BALADAN**, King of Babylonia, and his allies the Elamites, in the plains near the city of Kish. In the midst of that battle he quitted his camp, and fled alone: he escaped to the city of Gutzumann: he got into the marshes full of reeds and rushes, and so saved his life. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries, which in the midst of battle he had abandoned, were captured by my hands. I entered rejoicing into his palace in the city of Babylon: I broke open his royal treasury: gold and silver: vessels of gold and silver: precious stones of every kind: goods and valuables, and much royal treasure, his wife: the men and women of his palace: the noblemen: and those who ranked first among all his men of trust, and were clothed with the chief authority in the palace, I carried off, and counted them as a spoil. I marched after him to the city of Gutzumman, and I sent off my soldiers to search through the marshes and reeds. Five days they moved about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered!

In the power of **ASHUR**, my Lord, 89 large cities, and royal dwellings in the land of Chaldea, and 820 small towns in their neighborhood I assaulted, captured, and carried off their spoils, the Urbi, and the Aramaeans, and the Chaldaeans who were in the cities of

Erech, Nipur, Kish, Herris-kalama, and Tiggaba, and the people of the cities which had been in rebellion I carried away, and I distributed them as a spoil. BELIBUS, the son of a Rabbani, who was Prefect of Suanna city, who as a young man had been brought up in my palace, I placed over them as King of Leshan and Akkadi. During my return, the Tribes of the Tuhamuna, Rihikhu, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Malikhu, Gurtumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhaha, Buduku, Khamranu, Hagaranu, Nobatu, and Lihutahu (Arameans all of them, and rebels), I completely conquered. Two hundred and eight thousand people, male and female: 7,200 horses and mules; 11,173 asses; 5,230 camels; 80,100 oxen; 800,600 sheep; a vast spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

In the course of my expedition I received the great tribute of NEBO-BIL-ZIKRI, Chief of Ararat: gold, silver, mesukan wood of great size, mules, camels, oxen and sheep. The people of the city Khirimmi, obstinate enemies, who from old times had never bowed down to my yoke, I destroyed with the sword. Not one soul escaped. That district I settled again. One ox, ten sheep, ten goats (these twenty beasts being the best of every kind), I appointed (as a sacrifice) to the gods of Assyria, my Lords, in every township.

In my second expedition, ASHUR, the Lord, giving me confidence, I marched against the land of the Kassi and Yatsubi-galla, obstinate enemies, who from old times had not submitted to the Kings my fathers. Through the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horseback, for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below. But in dangerous places I lighted on my feet, and clambered like a mountain goat. The city of Beth-Kilamzakh, their great city, I attacked and took. The inhabitants, small and great, horses, mules, asses, oxen, and sheep, I carried off from it and distributed them as spoil. Their smaller towns without number I overthrew, and reduced them to heaps of rubbish. A vast building, which was their Hall of Assembly, I burnt with fire, and left it in ruins. I rebuilt that city of Beth-Kilamzakh, and I made it into a strong fortress. Beyond former times I strengthened it and fortified it. People drawn from lands subdued by my arms I placed to dwell within it. The people of Kassi and Yatsubi-galla, who had fled away from my arms, I brought down from the mountains, and in the cities of Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my General, the Prefect of Arrapakha, I placed them. A stone tablet I made: I wrote on it the

victories which I had gained over them, and within the city I set it up.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I took the road to the land of the Illipi. Before me ISPARARA their King abandoned his strong cities, and his treasuries, and fled to a distance. All his broad country I swept like a mighty whirlwind. The city Marupishti, and the city of Akkudu, his royal residences, and 34 great cities, with numberless smaller towns in their neighborhood, I ravaged, destroyed, and burnt them with fire. I cut down their woods. Over their corn fields I sowed thistles. In every direction I left the land of Illipi a desert. The inhabitants, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, oxen, and sheep beyond number, I carried off, and sent them away until none were left. The strong cities of Sisirta and Kummakhli, and the smaller towns in their neighborhood, together with the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his land, and added them to the empire of Assyria. I established the city of Ilinzash, to be the royal city and metropolis of that province. I abolished its former name, and I gave it the name of the city of Sennacherib.

During my return I received a great tribute from the distant Medians, who, in the days of the Kings, my fathers, no one had ever heard even the name of their country; and I made them bow down to the yoke of my Majesty.

In those days, Niniveh, the exalted city, the city beloved by ISHTARS within which dwells the worship of all the gods and goddesses, the ancient timin of its palace, those of old time had stamped its clay with sacred writing, and repeated it in the companion-tablets. A splendid place, a storehouse of every kind, and a treasury for all their jewels and regalia, they erected within it. Of all the Kings of former days, my fathers who went before me, who reigned before me over Assyria, and governed the city of BEL, and every year without fail augmented its interior rooms, and treasured up in them all their revenues which they received from the four countries, not one among them all, though the central palace was too small to be their royal residence, had the knowledge, nor the wish to improve it. As to caring for the health of the city, by bringing streams of water into it, and the finding of new springs, none turned his thought to it, nor brought his heart to it.

Then I, SENNACHERIB, King of Assyria, by command of the gods, resolved in my mind to complete this work, and I brought my heart

to it. Men of Chaldaea, Aram, Manna, Kue, and Cilicia, who had not bowed down to my yoke, I brought away as captives, and I compelled them to make bricks. In baskets made of reeds which I cut in the land of Chaldaea, I made the foreign workmen bring their appointed tale of bricks, in order to complete this work.

The former palace, of 360 measures long, adjoining the gardens of the Great Tower: 80 measures wide, adjoining the watchtower of the temple of ISHTAR: 134 measures wide, adjoining the watchtower of the house of worship: and 95 measures wide, . . . which the Kings, my fathers, who went before me had built for their royal residence, but had not beautified its front. The river Tibilti had ruined the brickwork of it when it ravaged the quays of the central city. The trees of its gardens had been burnt for firewood years ago. For a long time this river had undermined the front of the palace. In the high water of its floods it had made great rents in the foundations, and had washed away the timin. That small palace I pulled down, the whole of it. I made a new channel for the river Tibilti, I regulated its water, I restrained its flow. Within its old limits I walled up its stream. The low platform I raised higher, and paved it firmly with stones of great size, covered with bitumen, for a space of 354 measures in length, and 279 in breadth. That space I elevated above the waters, and restored it to be again dry ground. Seventeen hundred measures long: 162 measures wide, on the upper side towards the north: 217 measures wide in the center, 386 measures wide, on the lower side towards the south, fronting the river Tigris, I completed the mound, and I measured the measure.

On a high festival, in a great affluence of the people, I replaced the timin. With a layer of large stones I enclosed its place and I made its deposits secure. The written records of my name, 160 fathoms of bas-reliefs, I sculptured in the palace, but the lower part of the wall, next to the ground, I left to be filled up in future times. Afterwards I resolved to have more tablets carved. I sculptured twenty fathoms of them in addition to the former ones, so that I formed 180 fathoms of them altogether. The enclosure itself I increased beyond what it was in former days: above the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I liberally augmented its dwellings, and its fine buildings of ivory, dan wood, ku wood, meshukan wood, cedar wood, cypress wood, and pistachio wood. And in the midst I placed my royal residence, the palace of ZAKDI-NU-ISHA. Around it

I planted the finest of trees, equal to those of the land of Khamana, which all the knowing prefer to those of the land of Chaldaea.

By my care I caused the uprisings of springs in more than forty places in the plain: I divided them into irrigating canals for the people of Niniveh, and gave them to be their own property. To obtain water to turn the flour mills, I brought it in pipes from Kishri to Niniveh, and I skillfully constructed water-wheels. I brought down the perennial waters of the river Kutzuru, from the distance of half a kasbu, into those reservoirs, and I covered them well.

Of Niniveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged the dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones, and I widened those which were too narrow. I made them as splendid as the sun.

In the future days, if one of the Kings, my sons, whom ASHUR shall call to the sovereignty over this land and people; when this palace shall grow old and decay, shall repair its injuries, shall see the written record of my name, shall pour a libation on the altar, and sacrifice a victim, and then shall replace it in its place: ASHUR will hear and accept his prayers.

ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB

Translated by H. F. Talbot from an hexagonal clay prism found at Niniveh and now in the British Museum.

In my Third Campaign to the land of Syria I went. LULIAH, King of Sidon (for the fearful splendor of my Majesty had overwhelmed him) to a distant spot in the midst of the sea fled. His land I entered. Sidon the greater, Sidon the lesser, Beth-Zitti, Sarepta, Makalliba, Usu, Akziba, Akku, his strong cities, and castles, walled and fenced; and his finest towns (for the flash of the weapons of ASHUR my Lord had overcome them) made submission at my feet. TUBAAL, upon the throne over them I seated. A fixed tribute to my Majesty, paid yearly without fail, I imposed upon him.

Then MENAHEM King of Ussimiruna, TUBAAL King of Sidon, ADD-ILIUT King of Arvad, URU-MILKI King of Gubal, MITINTI King of Ashdod, BUDUEL King of Beth-Ammon, KAMMUZ-NATBI King of Moab, AIRAMMU King of Edom, the Kings of the west country, all

of them . . . their great presents and wealth to my presence brought, and kissed my feet.

In the course of my expedition, the cities of Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Hazor, and Banai-barka, cities of ZEDEK, which to my feet homage had not rendered, I attacked, captured, and carried off their spoils.

The chief priests, noblemen, and people of Ekron who PADIAH their King (holding the faith and worship of Assyria) had placed in chains of iron, and unto HEZEKIAH King of Judah had delivered him and had acted towards the deity with hostility: these men were now terrified in their hearts. The Kings of Egypt and the soldiers, archers, chariots, and horses of Ethiopia, forces innumerable, gathered together and came to their assistance. In the plains of Altaku in front of me they placed their battle array: they discharged their arrows: with the weapons of ASHUR my Lord, with them I fought, and I defeated them. The chief of the chariots and the sons of the King of Egypt, and the chief of the chariots of the King of Ethiopia, alive in the midst of the battle my hands captured. The city of Altaku and the city of Tamna I attacked, captured and carried off their spoil.

Then I drew nigh the city of Ekron. The chief priests and noblemen, who had committed these crimes, I put to death; on stakes all round the city I hung their bodies: the people of the city who had committed sins and crimes to slavery I gave. The rest of them who had not been guilty of faults and crimes, and who sinful things against the deity had not done, to spare them I gave command. PADIAH their King from the midst of Jerusalem I brought out, and on a throne of royalty over them I seated. Tribute payable to my Majesty I fixed upon him.

And HEZEKIAH King of Judah, who had not bowed down at my feet, forty-six of his strong cities, his castles, and the smaller towns in their neighborhood beyond number, with warlike engines . . . I attacked and captured. Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty people small and great, male and female, horses, mares, asses, camels, oxen and sheep beyond number, for the midst of them I carried off and distributed them as spoil. He himself, like a bird in a cage, inside Jerusalem his royal city, I shut him up: siege-towers against him I constructed, (for he had given command to renew the bulwarks of the great gate of his city.) His cities which I plundered, from his kingdom I cut off, and to MITINTI King of Ashdod, PADIAH King of Ekron, and ZILLI-BEL King of Gaza I gave them. I diminished his kingdom. Beyond the former scale of their yearly gifts their tribute

and gifts to my Majesty I augmented and imposed upon them. He himself HEZEKIAH the fearful splendour of my Majesty had overwhelmed him. The workmen, soldiers, and builders whom for the fortification of Jerusalem his royal city he had collected within it, now carried tribute and with thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver; woven cloth, scarlet, embroidered; precious stones of large size; couches of ivory, moveable thrones of ivory, skins of buffaloes, teeth of buffaloes, dan wood, ku wood, a great treasure of every kind, and his daughters, and the male and female inmates of his palace, male slaves and female slaves, unto Niniveh my royal city after me he sent; to pay tribute and do homage he sent his envoy.

Compare Isa 37. 5-7. Sufficient Prophecy

THE CONQUEST OF BABYLON BY CYRUS

*About 540 B. C. Cylinder in the British Museum. Translated by
Rev. A. H. Sayce, M. A.*

The rulers of E-SAGGIL he has (appointed) . . . for UR and the rest of the cities, he (Nabonidos, King of BABYLON) commanded what did not adorn them . . . daily did he plan; and the costly duty of the daily sacrifice did he cause to cease. . . . He had established within the city the worship of MERODACH the king of gods; in (?) . . . his hand hostility to his city had planned (?); daily (his) hand . . . his (people?) in the unquiet submission had destroyed all of them.

At their complaining BEL(-MERODACH the lord) of the gods was mightily wrathful, and (the men deserted?) their entrenchment. The gods who dwelt among them left their habitations in wrath when they were made to enter BABYLON. MERODACH in . . . journeyed to all peoples wherever they are found, and the men of SUMER and ACCAD who are like his own body did he visit . . . he granted pardon to all peoples, even all of them; he rejoiced (and) fed them.

He appointed also a prince who should guide right the wish of the heart which his hand upholds, even Cyrus the king of the city of ANSAN; he has proclaimed his title; for the sovereignty of all the world does he commemorate his name. The country of QUTU (and) all the people of the MANDA he has subjected to his feet; the men

of the black heads he has caused his hand to conquer. In justice and righteousness has he governed them. MERODACH the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vicegerent who was righteous in hand and heart.

To his city of BABYLON he (MERODACH) summoned his march; he bade him also take the road to BABYLON; like a friend and a comrade he went at his side. The weapons of his vast army, whose number, like the waters of a river, could not be known, were marshalled in order, and it spread itself at his side.

Without fighting and battle (MERODACH) caused him to enter into BABYLON; his city of BABYLON he spared; in a hiding place Nabonidos the king, who revered him not, did he give into his hand. The men of BABYLON, all of them, (and) the whole of SUMER and ACCAD, the nobles and the high-priest, bowed themselves beneath him; they kissed his feet; they rejoiced at his sovereignty; their faces shone. The lord (MERODACH) who through trust therein raises the dead to life, who benefits all men in difficulty and fear, has in goodness drawn nigh to him, has made strong his name.

I (am) Cyrus the king of multitudes, the great king, the powerful king, the king of BABYLON, the king of SUMER and ACCAD, the king of the four zones, the son of Kambyases, the great king, the king of the city of ANSAN; the great grandson of Teispes, the great king, the king of the city of ANSAN; of the ancient seed-royal, whose rule BEL and NEBO love, whose sovereignty they desire according to the goodness of their hearts. At that time I entered into BABYLON in peace.

With joy and gladness in the palace of the princes I founded the seat of dominion. MERODACH the great lord enlarged my heart; the son(s) of BABYLON and . . . on that day I appointed his ministers(?). My vast army spread itself peacefully in the midst of BABYLON; throughout (SUMER and) ACCAD I permitted no gainsayer. BABYLON and all its cities in peace I governed. The sons of BABYLON (and . . . gave me?) the fulness of (their) heart(s), and my yoke they bore, and their lives, their seat, (and) their ruins I restored. I delivered their prisoners. For my work . . . MERODACH the great lord, the . . ., established a decree; unto me, Cyrus, the king, his worshiper, and Kambyases (my) son, the offspring of my heart, (and to) all my people he graciously drew nigh, and in peace before them we duly . . .

All the king(s) who inhabit the high places of all the regions from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, the inhabitants of the in

(lands), the kings of SYRIA, (and) the inhabitants of tents, all of them brought their rich tribute and in BABYLON kissed my feet.

I restored the gods who dwelt within them to their places and I founded (for them) a seat that should be long-enduring; all their peoples I collected and I restored to their habitations. And the gods of SUMER and ACCAD whom Nabonidos, to the anger of (MERODACH) the lord of gods, had brought into BABYLON, by the command of MERODACH the great lord in peace in their sanctuaries I settled in seats according to (their) hearts. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities intercede daily before BEL and NEBO that my days be long, may they pronounce blessings upon me, and may they say to MERODACH my lord: Let Cyrus the king, thy worshiper, and Kambyses his son, (accomplish the desire?) of their heart, (let them enjoy length?) of days . . . I have settled (the peoples) of all countries in a place of rest.

THE ROSETTA STONE.

(British Museum.)

Translated by M. Letronne.

The Rosetta stone was discovered in 1799 at Rosetta, Egypt, in the ruins of an ancient temple. It contains a decree issued in honor of Ptolemy V about 200 B. C. and was inscribed in three forms of writing—the hieroglyphic, demotic or enchorial, and Greek. This made it a key to the hieroglyphics which had been entirely unintelligible up to this time. After more than forty years of study the hieroglyphic form was translated and thereby the entire field of Egyptian records was opened.

A DECREE.

The High Priests and Prophets, and those who go into the sanctuary for the clothing of the gods, and Pterophoroi and Hierogrammateis, and all the other Priests, who from the temples of the country, had assembled at Memphis, before the King at the festival of the reception of the crown, of PTOLEMY, ever living, beloved of PHTHAS, to god EPIPHANTES, EUCHARISTES, which he received direct from his father, assembled in the temple at Memphis, this same day have said:

Inasmuch as King PTOLEMY, ever living, beloved of PHTHAS, god

EPIPHANES, EUCHARISTES, issue of the King PTOLEMY and of the Queen ARSINOE, gods PHILOPATORES, has filled the temples with benefactions and those therein dwelling, and all those who are placed under his dominion, being god, born of a god and a goddess, like HORUS, the son of ISIS and OSIRIS, who has avenged his father OSIRIS; towards the gods, full of generous piety, has consecrated to the temples revenues of money and provisions; and has supported great expenses in order to bring tranquility to Egypt, and to establish order in all that concerns sacred affairs, has manifested with all his own power his sentiments of humanity; and of the public revenues and imposts collected in Egypt, he has finally suppressed some, and lightened others, so that the people and all the others may have plenty under his reign; the sums due to the treasury by the inhabitants of Egypt, and those of the rest of his kingdom, which were very considerable, he has generally remitted; and those imprisoned and those against whom law suits had commenced long since, he has freed them from all claims; he has moreover ordered that the revenues of the temples, and the contributions which had been granted them yearly, whether in provisions or money, as also the proper portions assigned to the gods, as the vineyards, gardens, and other lands, that belonged to the gods under the reign of his father, should remain on the same footing.

As to the Priests, he has also commanded that they should pay nothing more to the appointment fund than that what they had been taxed to the first year under his father; he has further remitted to those amongst the sacred body annual voyage to Alexandria, he has likewise ordered that there should no longer be levied the contribution for the navy; of the byssus delivered in the temples to the royal treasury he has remitted two-thirds; and all that had been previously neglected, he has re-established in proper order, taking all care that which it had been customary to perform for the gods should be executed as it ought to be; at the same time he has distributed justice to all like HERMES, the twice great; he has moreover ordered, that the returned emigrants, both of the soldiers and all others who had shown opposition in time of troubles, should keep the property in the possession of which they had re-entered: he has provided also that of cavalry and infantry forces and ships should be sent against those who had advanced against Egypt, whether by land or by sea, supporting great expenses in money and provisions, so that the temples and all the inhabitants of Egypt should be in safety.

Having gone to Lycopolis which is in Busirite nome, a city

which had been seized and fortified against a siege, by great depots of arms and every other kind of munitions, the spirit of revolt having strengthened itself there for a long time, among the impious who are assembled in it, had done much mischief to the temples and inhabitants of Egypt: And having laid siege (to this place), he surrounded it with entrenchments, ditches and strong walls. The Nile having made a great flood in the eight year, and as it usually does, inundating the plains, the King had restrained it, in many places, by dyking the mouths of the rivers, for which works he has spent no small sum: after having established both cavalry and infantry troops to watch them, he took in a short time the city by storm, and destroyed all the impious ones found there.

It has seemed fit to the Priests of all the temples in the country that all the honors bestowed to the ever-living King PTOLEMY, beloved of PHTHAS, the god EPIPHANES, EUCHARISTES, as well as those of his parents, gods PHILAPATOES, and those of his grandparents, gods EVERGETAI, and those of the gods ADELPHI, and those of the gods SOTERES, should be newly greatly increased; and to raise to the ever-living King PTOLEMY god EPIPHANES, EUCHARISTES an image in each temple, in the most visible part which should bear the name of PTOLEMY, the avenger of Egypt; that close by should be placed standing the principal god of the temple, presenting him a weapon of victory, the whole disposed in the Egyptian fashion; that the priests should perform thrice daily religious services at the images, and place sacred decorations on them: and they should execute the other prescribed ceremonies, as for the other gods in the pangyries celebrated in Egypt; that they should raise to King PTOLEMY, god EPIPHANES, EUCHARISTES, born of the King PTOLEMY and the Queen ARSINOE, the gods PHILOPATOES, a statue of wood and gilt shrine, in each of the temples: that they should place them in the sanctuaries with the other shrines.

And finally that this decree be engraved on a tablet of hard stone in hieroglyphic, enchorial, and Greek characters: and place it in every temple of the first, second, and third class near the image of the ever-living King.

THE MOABITE STONE (890 B.C.)

Translated by Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D., from imprints of the original stone which was destroyed by natives. This stone was discovered on the east side of the Jordan river, in the ruins of Dibon, which is mentioned in Joshua XIII, 9. It details an expedition described in 2 Kings, III, 4-27.

I, MESHA, am son of CHEMOSHGAD, King of Moab, the Dibomite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I erected this stone to CHEMOSH at Korcha, (a stone of) (sa)lvation, for he saved me from all despoilers, and let me see my desire upon all my enemies.

Nok OM(R)I, King of Israel, he oppressed Moab many days, for CHEMOSH was angry with his l(a)nd. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said, (Let us go) and I will see my desire on him and his house, and Israel said, I shall destroy it forever.

Now OMRI took the land Medeba, and (the enemy) occupied it (in his days and in) the days of his sons, forty years. And CHEMOSH (had mercy) on it in my days; and I built Baal Meon, and made there in the ditch, and I (built) Kirjathaim. For the men of Gad dwelled in the land (Atar)oth from of old, and the K (ing of I)srael, fortified A(t)aroth, and I assaulted the wall and captured it, and killed all the w(arriors of) the wall, for the well-pleasing of CHEMOSH and Moab; and I removed from it all the spoil, and (offered) it before CHEMOSH in Kirjath; and I placed therein the men of Siran and the me(n of) Mochrath. And CHEMOSH said to me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. (And I) went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took it, and slew in all seven thousand (men, but I did not kill) the woman a (and ma)idens, for (I) devoted (them) to ASHTAR-CHEMOSH; and I took from it (the vessels of) JEHOVAH, and offered them before CHEMOSH. And the King of Israel fortif(ied) Jahaz, and occupied it when he made war against me; and CHEMOSH drove him out before (me, and) I took from Moab two hundred men, all its poor, and placed them in Jahez, and took it to annex it to Dibon.

I built Korcha, the wall of the forest, and the wall of the city, and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof, and I built the palace, and I made the prisons for the crim(inal)s with (in the) wall. And there was no cistern in the wall in Korcha, and I said to all the people, Make for yourselves every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the ditch, for Korcha with the (chosen) men of (I)srael. I built Aroer, and I made the road across the Arnon, I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it was cu(t down) by the armed men of Dibon, for all Dibon was now loyal; and I reign(ed) from Bikran, which I added to my land, and I bui(lt) (Beth-Gamel), and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I placed there the p(oor) (people of) the land. And as to Horonaim (the men of Edom) dwelt therein (on the descent from the old).

And CHEMOSH said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and ta(ke it. And I assaulted it), (And I took it for) CHEMOSH (restored i)t in my days. Whereof I ma(de) year
..... and I

THE BIRS-NIMRUD INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

(British Museum.)

Translated by H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S., from cylinders found in the third stage of the Temple of the Seven Spheres, believed to be the Tower of Babel.

I

NEBUCHADNEZZAR King of Babylon the noble King, proclaimed to you by the will of MARDUK the great high priest, beloved by NEBO the wise Mage who unto the doctrines of the gods raised his intelligence: the high priest ever active in adorning the temple of SAGGATHU, and the temple of ZIDA: the eldest son of NABOPOLASSAR King of Babylon. I am he. When MARDUK the great Lord had created me a King he commanded me to complete his holy buildings. NEBO who bestows the thrones of heaven and earth placed the scepter of justice in my hand, the temple of SAGGATHU, the great temple of heaven and earth the dwelling of MARDUK Lord of the gods; the temple of KUA, the (shrine) of his Lordship with shining gold I splendidly adorned. The temple of ZIDA I built anew. With silver, gold, and precious stones mesukan

wood and cedar I completed its roof. The temple of the Planet, which is the tower of Babylon I built, and I finished it. With slabs of precious zamat stone I finished its summit. The temple of the Seven Planets, which is the tower of Borsippa which former Kings had built and raised it to the height of forty-two cubits, but had not finished its upper part from extreme old age had rotted away. The water springs beneath it had not been kept in order: the rain and the tempest had ruined its

2

buildings: the slabs that covered it had fallen off. The bricks of its wall lay scattered in heaps. To repair it, the great Lord MARDUK incited my heart. Its site had not been disturbed: its timin had not been destroyed. In a fortunate month, and on a lucky day the bricks of its wall, and the slabs that covered it I collected the finest of them and I rebuilt the ruins firmly. Inscriptions written in my name I placed in the finest apartments and so of rebuilding (the ruin) and of completing the upper part, I made an end. O NEBO! noble son, exalted (messenger) and beloved of spring, of MARDUK! my works of piety behold joyfully! A long life, abundant off spring, a firm throne, a prolonged reign, the subjection of all rebels the conquest of my enemies' land, grant to me as a recompense! By thy noble favour, O founder of the (fabric) of heaven and earth, may my days be blessed with vigorous children. In the presence of MARDUK King of heaven and earth thy father, present these my works! and may my fortunate name NEBUCHADNEZZAR or, the "Heaven-adoring King" dwell continually in thy mouth!

A BABYLONIAN LAWSUIT RELATING TO A JEW.

ABOUT 570 B. C.

Translated by Prof. J. Oppert, Member of the Institute. Tablet in the British Museum.

The account of a lawsuit begun by a Jewish slave named Barachiel (the same name as the father of Elihu in the book of Job) in order to secure his freedom on the plea of noble birth.

Barachiel, is a slave of ransom belonging to Gaga, the daughter of whom in the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Baby-

lon, (from Akhi-)nuri, the son of Nabu-nadin-akh, for the third of a mina and 8 shekels she had bought. Recently he has instituted an action, saying thus: I am the son of a (noble) ancestor, of the family of Bel-rimanni, who have joined the hands (in matrimony) of Samas-mudammīq the son of Nabu-nadin-akh and the woman Qusadu, the daughter of Akhi-nuri, even I.

In the presence of the high priest, the nobles and the judges of Nabonidus king of Babylon, they pleaded the case and listened to their arguments in regard to the obligation of servitude of Barachiel.

From the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to the 7th year of Nabonidus king of Babylon, he had been sold for money, and had been put in pledge, (and) as the dowry of Nubta the daughter of Gaga had been given. Afterwards Nubta had alienated him by a sealed contract; in exchange for a house and slaves to Zamama-nadin her son and Idina her husband had given him.

They read (the evidence) and said thus to Barachiel: Thou hast brought an action and said: The son of a (noble) ancestor am I. Prove to us thy (noble) ancestry. Barachiel his former statement retracted, saying: Twice have I run away from the house of my master, but many people (were present), and I was seen. I was afraid and said (accordingly) that I am the son of a (noble) ancestor. My citizenship exists not; I am the slave of ransom of Gaga. Nubta her daughter received me as (her) dowry; Nubta alienated me by a sealed contract, and to Zamamanadin her son and Idina her husband gave me in exchange; and after the death of Gaga (and) Nubta, to Itti-Marduk-baladh the son of Nabu-akhe-iddin of the family of Egibi, for silver I (was sold). I am a slave. Go now, (pronounce sentence) about me.

(The high-priest), the nobles and the judges heard the evidence (and) restored (Barachiel) to his condition as slave of ransom, notwithstanding the absence of Samas-mudammīq (the son of Nabu-nadin-akh) and Qudosn, the daughter of Akhi-nuri, the seller (of the slave).

For the Registration of this (decision) Musezib the (priest) (and) Nergal-akhe-iddin the judges of the family of Epis-el, in the city of the palace of the king of Babylon, the 17th day of the month Marchesvan (the 7th? year) of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

THE EGIBI TABLETS

About 1000 B. C. and later.

Translated by Theophilus G. Pinches from tablets in the British Museum. The records of transactions of a firm of Babylonian bankers calling themselves the Sons of Egibi.

I

Day 5th of the month Kislev, "SARRU-KINU, son of AMMANU, his witness (servant) in the city Piqudu is smitten and to IDIKHI-ILA, son of Dina they impute (it). From IDIKHI-ILA to 'SARRU-KINU one sent thus: "To determine concerning thy servant who was killed with me conferrest thou not? I the life of thy servant will make up to thee." As they determined it, I mana of silver, the price of his servant, IDIKHI-ILANA to 'SARRU-KINU gives, because they did not fix it (upon him for certain).

Witness: NAZIYA, the Officer of the King; IL-SADI-RABI-IDDIN, son of TALMUD-ILI; SEGURA, son of TALAH, Governor of Rutuv; and the Scribe NABU-AKHI-IDDIN, son of SULA, the son of EGIBI.

Rutuv, month Samma, 7th day, 40th year, NABU-KUDURRA-YUTSUR, King of Babylon.

2

A double field of corn-land, planted, 5 adults and children, which NABU-AKHI-IDDIN, son of SULA, son of EGIBI, with KIBIHTUVKI'INAT, his daughter, for DUMMUQU, son of BELU-AKHI-IDDIN, the son of EGIBI had bespoken. Afterwards, in the month Airu, day 1st year 14th, NABU-NAHID, King of Babylon, ITTI-MARDUKI-BALADHU, son of NABU-AKHI-IDDIN, the son of EGIBI, the double field of corn-land, planted by the road of the hill, from beyond the King's road which is beside the river Banituv, to beyond the boundaries of their corn-land which is against (the enclosure of) BANUNU-ABLA, as the hill-road mounts to the approach, ITTI-MARDUKI-BALADHU and DUMMUQU, with the others take. SALLATYA, BUTA, NABNITUV-KHULATUV, SU'INNI, and LATU-BARANU, who into the hands of the spice-merchant, in all 5 adults and children, ITTI-MARDUKI-BALADHU, son of NABU-AKHI-IDDIN, the son of EGIBI has given. The adults, whom QUDASU for DUMMUQU had bespoken, DUMMUQU asks QUDASU for.

Witnesses: BANIYA, son of TABNE-ABLA, the son of the Commander; NABU-NASTIR, son of INA-E-SAGGIL-IDDIN, the son of the Messenger of Bel; MASQUL, son of NABU-SUMA-IDDIN, the son of NADIN-SE'IV; BEL-BASA, son of NABU-RAHKIB, the son of NUR'SINI; and the Messenger MARDUKU-AKALA-IDDIN, son of KUNA, the son of the Commander.

Babylon, month Airu, 1st day, year 14th, NABU-NAHID, King of Babylon. -SADARI they have taken

BABYLONIAN CONTRACTS, 1000—648 B. C.

(British Museum)

Translated by T. G. Pinches.

I

5/6 of a mana of silver from Remut, son of, unto Musezib-Marduk, and Kulla, his wife, for necessities. In the day when the face of the land sprouts (again), the money, 5/6 of a mana, in its full amount, Musezib-Marduk and Kulla shall repay to Remut. Witnesses: Abla, son of Arad-bit-Nergal; Sapik-zeri, son of Musezib-Marduk; Bel-upakhhir, son of Tullubu; Ugara, son of Sippe; Nabu-sum-utsur, son of the potter; and the scribe, Marduk-edhir. Babylon, month Tebet, day 9th, year 19th, Samas-sum-ukin king of Babylon.

At this time, in the city of Lamima, want and famine (are) in the land. The people are dying for want of food.

2

On the 15th day of the month Iyyar, Milki-idiri, Governor of Kidis, will get three cows and their young, and will give them to Abla, son of Nadin-akhi, descendant of the priest of the Sungod. If he cannot see (them), Milki-idiri will give to Abla, son of Nadin-akhi, son of the priest of the Sungod, 5 mana of silver. Witnessing: Bunduti, son of Nabu-ukin, descendant of Nabutu; Musezib-Marduk, son of Abla, descendant of the fisherman(?); Marduk-sakin-sumi, son of Marduk-edhir, descendant of Edheru; and the scribe, Pir'u, son of Sula. Tyre, month Tammuz, day 22d, year 40th, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.

3

Nabu-sum-ukin, priest of Nebo, director of E-Zida, son of Sirik-tum-Marduk, descendant of Isde-ilani-danan, said to Neriglissar, king of Babylon: "Give Gegitum, thy virgin daughter, to wifehood, and let her be a wife." Neriglissar (said) to Nabu-sum-ukin, priest of Nebo, director of E-Zida (about 28 lines here are illegible).....
 son of Nabu-sum-lisirri, son of Nabusarra-
 utsur, the judge (?); Nabu-sum-utsur, the scribe, son of Assur.....
 Babylon, month Nisan, day 1st, year 1st, (Neriglis) sar king of Baby-
 lon. Copy of E-zida.

ASSYRIAN PRIVATE CONTRACT TABLETS

7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES B. C.

Translated by Rev. A. H. Sayce. Originals in British Museum.

I

Ten shekels of the best silver, (being) chains for ISTAR of Nine-veh, which BILU-BALADH, in the presence of MANU-CI-ARBELA (here follow 3 seals), has lent on a loan; the silver is to have paid upon it at 4 per cent. On the 3d day of the month the silver has been given. (Dated) 3d day of the month Sebat, during the eponymy of RIM-MON-SALLIM-ANI. The witnesses (were): KHATTAL-MUNU, RAHU, KUL-DUIN, NERIGLISSOR, ARAKH-NEBO the Scrippian, MUSEZIB-ASSUR, NEBO-SALLIM-SUNU, KHANNI, (and) BIL-SADAN.

(Then follow two lines and a half of Phoenician, the first of which consists of the proper name, Mannugi-Arbela.)

2

The seal of EBED-ISTAR, the master of the men. The giving-up of HOSHEA, his two wives MIH'SA (and) BADIA, 'SIGABA, BEL-KHARRAN-CUNUCCI, (and) his two daughters, in all 7 persons, slaves, whom EBED-ISTAR has sold; and 'SIMADI for, 3 manehs of silver has taken? The whole sum I have given. A full exchange is made: I have not defaulted. The witnesses (are) BEL-NURI, the priest, AMYATEHU, 'SANGI, KAT-r'sa (and) 'SIDUR. (The name of the 6th witness is not filled in). The month Tisri; the Eponymy of DANANU.

Then follow two lines of Phoenician which may be translated (1) "The sale of Hoshea, (2) in all 7 persons, the property of Ebed-Istar.")

3

The nail-mark of SARRU-LUDARI, the nail-mark of ATAR-'SURU, (and) the nail-mark of the woman AMAT-'SUHALA, the wife of BEL-DURU, the, the owner of the house (which) is given up. (Then follow 4 nail marks.) The whole house with its wood-work, and its doors, situated in the city of Nineveh, adjoining the houses of MANNU-CI-AKHI and ILU-CIYA, (and) the property of 'SUKAKI he has sold, and TSILLU-ASSUR the astronomer, an Egyptian, for one maneh of silver (according to) the royal (standard), in the presence of SARRU-LUDARIA ATAR-'SURU, and AMAT-'SUHALA, the wife of its owner, has received it. The whole sum I have given. This house has been taken possession of. A full exchange is made. I have not defrauded. Whosoever (shall act) feloniously among any of of these men who have sworn to the contract and the agreement, which (is) before (our) prince ASSUR, 10 manehs of silver shall he pay. The witnesses (are): SU'SAN-KUKHADNANIS, MURMAZA the..... RA'SUAH the pilot, NEBO-DUR-SANIN the partitioner of the enemy, MURMAZA the pilot, SINNIS-NACARET, (and) ZEDEKIAH. The 16th day of the month Sivan, the eponymy of ZAZA of the city of SAMAS-ITSBAT-NACARA, LATTURU, (and) NEBO-SUM-YUTSUR.

PRIVATE BABYLONIAN CONTRACT

(British Museum)

Translated by Dr. Oppert and M. Menant.

By this table, the author of the everlasting limits has for ever perpetuated his name.

25 hins of corn are sufficient to seed an arura, in a field lying on the bank of the river Besim, belonging to Hankas.

In length above towards the North, adjoining the property of HANKAS; in length below towards the South, adjoining the property of IMBIYATI; in breadth above towards the West, adjoining the property of HANKAS; in breadth below towards the East, limited by the river Besim.

Such is what MARDUK-NASIR, Captain of the King, has received from the hands of NIS-BEL, son of HANKAS. He has paid the price for it. SAPIKU son of ITTI-MARDUK-BALAT, son of ZIKAR-EA, is the measurer of the field.

	weights of
1 Chariot with its team of horses	100 silver
6 Harnesses	300 silver
1 ass from Phoenicia	30 silver
6 Harnesses, 1 Ass from Phoenicia.....	50 silver
1 Mule	15 silver
1 Cow (pregnant)	30 silver
30 Measures of corn, 60 Measures of 12 epha.....	137 silver
1 Hemicorion, 10 Shovels of 4 epha	16 silver
2 Dogs, good	12 silver
9 Greyhounds from the East	18 silver
1 Hunting dog	1 silver
1 Shepherd dog	1 silver
1 Dog (bloodhound)	6 silver
Total 616 weights of) silver.	

Such is what NIS-BEL, son of HANKAS, has paid in the hands of MARDUK-NASIR, Captain of the King, as equivalent of the price of a field of 25 hins of (grain).

At any epoch whatever, in the days to come (or process of time) either an aklu, or a no-servant, or a farmer, or a husbandman, or a workman, or any other guardian who presents himself, and who settles in the house of HANKAS, and will endeavour to lay waste this field, will earn its first fruits, will turn it over, will plough it (mix up the earth), will have it put under water, who will occupy this property by fraud or violence and will settle in its territories, either in the name of the god, or in the name of the King, or in the name of the representative of the Lord of the country, or in the name of the representative of the house, or in the name of any person whatever, whoever he may be, who will give it, will earn the harvest of the land, will say, "These fields are not granted as gifts by the King;" whether he pronounce against them the holy malediction or he swears by these words: "The head is not the head;" and establish any one therein, in saying: "There is no eye;" or who will carry away this tablet, or will throw it into the river, or will break it into pieces, or will bury it under a heap of stones, or will burn it by fire, or will bury it in the earth, or will hide it in a dark place, that man (shall be cursed):

May the god ANU, BEL, HEA, the great gods, afflict him and curse him with maledictions which are not (retracted).

May the god SIN, the splendid in the high heaven, envelop all his members with incurable leprosy until the day of his death; and expel him to the farthest limits like a wild beast.

May SAMAS, the Judge of heaven and earth, fly before him; that he change into darkness the light of the day.

May ISTAR, the Sovereign, the Queen of the gods, load him with infirmities and anguish of illness like arrows, may she increase (day and night his pains), so that he runs about like a dog, in the ways of his town.

May MARDUK, the King of heaven and earth, the Lord of the eternity without end, entangle his weapons with bonds which cannot be broken.

May NINIP, the god of crops and boundaries, sweep away its limits and tread upon his crops, and remove its limit.

May GULA, the mother (nurse), the great Lady, infect his bowels with a poison, and that he void pus and blood like water.

May BIN, the supreme Guardian of heaven and earth, inundate his field like a

May SERAH suffocate his first-born.

May NABU, the holy minister of the gods, continually pour over his destinies laments and curses; and blast his wishes.

May all the great gods whose name is invoked on this table, devote him to vengeance and scorn, and may his name, his race, his fruits, his offspring, before the face of men perish wretchedly.

By this table, the author of the everlasting limits has for ever perpetuated his name.

THE PRIVATE WILL OF SENNACHERIB

Translated by Rev. A. H. Sayce, M. A. from the original in the British Museum. This is the oldest will known.

I, SENNACHERIB, King of multitudes, King of Assyria, have given chains of gold, stores of ivory, a cup of gold, crowns and chains besides, all the riches of which there are heaps, crystal and another precious stone; and bird's stone: one and a half manehs, two and a half cibi,

according to their weight: to ESAR-HADDON my son, who was afterwards named ASSUR-EBIL-MUCIN-PAL according to my wish; the treasure of the Temple of AMUK and (NEBO)-IRIK-ERBA, the harpists of NEBO.

THE LEGEND OF THE TOWER OF BABEL AND THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES

(British Museum)

Translated by W. St. Chad. Boscowen.

This tablet is fragmentary and badly mutilated.

I

- 1 them the father.
- 2 (The thoughts) of his heart were evil.
- 3 the father of all the gods he turned from.
- 4 (The thoughts) of his heart were evil.
- 5 Babylon corruptly to sin went and
- 6 small and great mingled on the mound.
- 7 Babylon corruptly to sin went and
- 8 small and great mingled on the mound.

2

- 1 The King of the holy mound
 - 2 In front and ANU lifted up
 - 3 to the good god his father
 - 4 Then his heart also
 - 5 which carried a command
 - 6 At that time also
 - 7 he lifted it up
 - 8 Davkina.
 - 9 Their (work) all day they founded
 - 10 to their stronghold in the night
 - 11 entirely an end he made.
 - 12 In his anger also the secret counsel he poured out
 - 13 to scatter (abroad) his face he set
 - 14 he gave a command to make strange their speech
 - 15 their progress he impeded
 - 16 the altar
- (Column 3 is so broken, only a few words remain, so it is omitted).

4

- 1 In (that day)
 - 2 he blew and
 - 3 For future time the mountain
 - 4 NU-NAM-NIR went
 - 5 Like heaven and earth he spake
 - 6 His ways they went
 - 7 Violently they fronted against him
 - 8 He saw them and to the earth (descended)
 - 9 When a stop he did not make
 - 10 of the gods
 - 11 Against the gods they revolted
 - 12 violence
 - 13 Violently they wept for Babylon
 - 14 very much they wept.
 - 15 And in the midst
- (The rest is wanting.)

THE OVERTHROW OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH

Translated by Rev. A. H. Sayce from tablets in the British Museum.

An Accadian poem describing the rain of fire which destroyed these cities, and the escape of Lot, as described in Genesis.

An overthrow from the midst of the deep there came. The fated punishment from the midst of heaven descended. A storm like a plummet the earth (overwhelmed). To the four winds the destroying flood like fire did burn. The inhabitants of the citie(s) it had caused to be tormented; their bodies it consumed. In city and country it spread death, and the flames as they rose overthrew. Freeman and slave were equal, and the high places it filled. In heaven and earth like a thunder-storm it had rained; a prey it made. A place of refuge the gods hastened to, and in a throng collected. Its mighty (onset) they fled from, and like a garment it concealed (mankind). They (feared), and death (overtook them).

(Their) feet and hands (it embraced) Their body it

consumed the city, its foundations it defiled.
in breath, his mouth he filled. As for this man, a loud voice was
raised; the mighty lightning flash descended. During the day it flashed;
grievously (it fell).

ASSYRIAN CORRESPONDENCE.

*From Baked Clay Tablets in the National Collection. Translated by
Theo. G. Pinches.*

Letter from a physician to the king of Assyria concerning an
Assyrian prince who was ill.

To the king my lord, thy servant Arad-Nana. May there be
peace for ever and ever to the king my lord. May the god Ninep
and the goddess Gula give soundness of heart and soundness of flesh
to the king my lord. Peace forever.

To reduce the general inflammation of the forehead, I have tied
a bandage upon it. His face is swollen. Yesterday, as formerly, I
opened the wound which had been received in the midst of it. As
for the bandage which was over the swelling, matter was upon the
bandage, the size of the tip of the little finger. Thy gods, if the whole
of the flesh of his body they can restore unto him, cause thou to
invoke, and his mouth will cry: "Peace forever. May the heart of
the king my lord be good."

He will live seven or eight days.

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

(British Museum.)

Translations by Prof. J. Helewy.

A Babylonian Medical Receipt—the only known specimen of an
Assyro-Babylonian prescription extant.

For eruptions and tumors which afflict the body: Fill a vase
which has held drugs with water from an inexhaustible well; put in
it a shoot of . . . a . . . reed, some date-sugar, some wine, some
bitter hydromel; add to it some . . . saturate it with pure water

(and) pour upon it the water of the (sick) man; cut reeds in an elevated meadow; beat some pure date-sugar with some pure honey; add some sweet oil which comes from the mountain (and) mix them together; rub (with this ointment) the body of the (sick) man seven times.

DESCRIPTION OF A VIRTUOUS WIFE.

(What is a virtuous woman?)

The woman who, being married, has caressed no man; who, in her husband's absence, does not paint herself; who, in her husband's absence, takes not off her clothes; whose veil no freeman, of pure race, has raised; who has never moistened her teeth with an intoxicating liquor.....

ASSYRIAN ASTRONOMICAL TABLETS.

(British Museum.)

Translated by Rev. A. H. Sayce. Tablets ascribed to 16th century B. C. and earlier.

I

To the King, my Lord, thy servant ISTAR-IDDINA, the Chief of the Astronomers, of the city of Arbela. May there be peace to the King my Lord. May NEBO, MERODACH (and) ISTAR of Arbela to the King my Lord, be propitious.

On the 29th day a watch we kept. (In) the observatory (there was) mist. The moon we did not see.

(Dated) the month of Sebat, the 1st day during the eponymy of BEL-KHARRAN-SADUA.

2

To the King my Lord, thy servant ABIL-ISTAR. Peace to the King my Lord. May NEBO (and) MERODACH to the King my Lord be propitious. Long days, soundness of flesh and joy of heart may the great gods to the King my Lord grant.

(On) the 27th day the moon is fixed. (On) the 28th day, the 29th day (and) the 30th day a watch for an eclipse of the sun we

kept. The sun behind the shadow (of the eclipse) did not pass. (On) the 1st day the moon was seen in the day time, during the month Tammuz current, above the planet Mercury; of which I have already to the King my Lord sent this account. During the period of 5 days when the moon is called ANU in the circle of the star Shepherd of the Heavenly Flock it was seen declining. By reason of rain the horns were not visible very clearly. Thus during this 5 days period when the month is ANU in regard to its conjunction, to the King my Lord I have sent. Thus it extended itself (and) was visible below the star of the Chariot. During the 5 days period when the moon's course is called BEL it is fixed; round the star of the Chariot it turned its course. Its conjunction was prevented; but nevertheless its conjunction with Mercury which (took place) during the 5 days period when the moon is ANU of which I have already to the King my Lord sent a special (report) was not prevented.

May the King my Lord have peace.

EGYPTIAN CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE.

About 380 B. C. Translated by E. Revillout, On Papyrus in Demotic Script—Now in the Louvre, Paris.

The year 33 xoiax of the King PTOLEMY, the god, being AETUS, son of APOLLONIUS, Priest of ALEXANDER and of the gods brothers, being DEMETRIA, daughter of DIONYSIOS, Canephoros before ARSINOE PHILADELPHA, the Pastophore of AMMON API of the Western region of Thebes. PATMA son of PCHELCHONS, whose mother is TAHET, says to the woman TA-OUTEM, daughter of RELOU, whose mother is TANETEM: I have accepted thee for wife, I have given thee one argenteus, in shekels 5, one argenteus in all for thy woman's gift. I must give thee 6 oboli, their half is 3, to-day 6, by the month 3, by the double month 6, 36 for a year: equal to one argenteus and one-fifth, in shekels 6, one argenteus and one-fifth in all for thy toilet during a year. Lastly, a tenth of an argenteus, in shekels one-half, one argenteus one-tenth for thy pin (or pocket) money by the month, which makes one argenteus and one-fifth, in shekels 6, one argenteus and one-fifth for thy pin money for the year. Thy pin money for one year is apart from thy toilet money I must give it to thee each year, and it is thy

right to exact the payment of thy toilet money, and thy pin money, which are to be placed to my account. I must give it to thee. Thy eldest son, my eldest son, shall be the heir of all my property, present and future. I will establish thee as wife.

In case I should despise thee, in case I should take another wife than thee, I will give thee 20 argenteus, in shekels 100, 20 argenteus in all. The entire of the property which is mine, and which I shall possess, is security of all the above words, until I have accomplished them according to their tenor. I have no more to allege, any other matter, any other word . . . with thee. The writings which the woman TAHET, daughter of TEOS, my mother, has made to me concerning one half of the entire of the property which belonged to PCHELCHONS, son of PANA my father, and the rest of the contracts coming from her, and which are in my hand, belong to thee, as well as the rights resulting from it. For thee all that, as well as that which I shall justify in their name. Son, daughter, coming from me, who shall annoy thee on this subject will give thee 20 argenteus, in shekels 100, 20 argenteus in all. He will deliver them up to thee entirely without any opposition, the writer of this act is . . . the Priest of AMMON HORPNETER, son of SMIM.

THE REVOLT IN HEAVEN.

(British Museum.)

Translated by H. Fox Talbot, F. R. S.

This Chaldean tablet describes a combat in Heaven similar to the war between Michael and the Dragon, as recorded in Revelations XII 3.

The Divine Being spoke three times, the commencement of a psalm. The god of holy songs, Lord of religion and worship seated a thousand singers and musicians; and established a choral band who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes. . . . With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy song spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise. The god of the bright crown with a wish to summon his adherents sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead, which to those rebel angels prohibited return, he stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who were his enemies. In

their room he created mankind. The first who received life, dwelt along with him. May he give them strength, never to neglect his word, following the serpent's voice, whom his hands had made. And may the god of divine speech expel from his five thousand that wicked thousand who in the midst of his heavenly song, had shouted evil blasphemies: The god Ashur, who had seen the malice of those gods who deserted their allegiance to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

About 2600 B. C.—British Museum.

1. If a man weave a spell and put a ban upon a man, and has not justified himself, he that wove the spell upon him shall be put to death.

2. If a man has put a spell upon a man, and has not justified himself, he upon whom the spell is laid shall go to the holy river, he shall plunge into the holy river, and if the holy river overcome him, he who wove the spell upon him shall take to himself his house. If the holy river makes that man to be innocent, and has saved him, he who laid the spell upon him shall be put to death. He who plunged into the holy river shall take to himself the house of him who wove the spell upon him.

3. If a man, in a case pending judgment, has uttered threats against the witnesses, or has not justified the word that he has spoken, if that case be a capital suit, that man shall be put to death.

4. If he has offered corn or money to the witnesses, he shall himself bear the sentence of that case.

5. If a judge has judged a judgement, decided a decision, granted a sealed sentence, and afterwards has altered his judgement, that judge, for the alteration of the judgement that he judged, one shall put him to account, and he shall pay twelvefold the penalty which was in the said judgement, and in the assembly one shall expel him from his judgement seat, and he shall not return, and with the judges at a judgement he shall not take his seat.

6. If a man has stolen the goods of temple or palace, that man shall be killed, and he who has received the stolen thing from his hand shall be put to death.

7. If a man has bought silver, gold, manservant or maidservant, ox or sheep or ass, or anything whatever its name, from the hand of a man's son, or of a man's slave, without witness and bonds, or has

received the same on deposit, that man has acted the thief, he shall be put to death.

8. If a man has stolen ox or sheep or ass, or pig, or ship, whether from the temple or the palace, he shall pay thirtyfold. If he be a poor man, he shall render tenfold. If the thief has nought to pay, he shall be put to death.

9. If a man who has lost something of his, something of his that is lost has been seized in the hand of a man, the man in whose hand the lost thing has been seized has said, 'A giver gave it to me,' or 'I bought it before witnesses,' and the owner of the thing that is lost has said, 'Verily, I will bring witnesses that know my lost property,' the buyer has brought the giver who gave it him and the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner of the lost property has brought the witnesses who know his lost property, the judge shall see their depositions, the witnesses before whom the purchase was made and the witnesses knowing the lost property shall say out before God what they know; and if the giver has acted the thief he shall be put to death, the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, the buyer shall take the money he paid from the house of the giver.

10. If the buyer has not brought the giver who gave it him and the witnesses before whom he bought, and the owner of the lost property has brought the witnesses knowing his lost property, the buyer has acted the thief, he shall be put to death; the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

11. If the owner of the lost property has not brought witnesses knowing his lost property, he has lied, he has stirred up strife, he shall be put to death.

12. If the giver has betaken himself to his fate, the buyer shall take from the house of the giver fivefold as the penalty of that case.

13. If that man has not his witnesses near, the judge shall set him a fixed time, up to six months, and if within six months he has not driven in his witnesses, that man has lied, he himself shall bear the blame of that case.

14. If a man has stolen the son of a freeman, he shall be put to death.

15. If a man has caused either a palace slave or palace maid, or a slave of a poor man or a poor man's maid, to go out of the gate, he shall be put to death.

16. If a man has harboured in his house a manservant or a maid-servant fugitive from the palace, or a poor man, and has not produced

them at the demand of the commandant, the owner of that house shall be put to death.

17. If a man has captured either a manservant or a maidservant, a fugitive, in the open country and has driven him back to his master, the owner of the slave shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18. If that slave will not name his owner he shall drive him to the palace, and one shall enquire into his past, and cause him to return to his owner.

19. If he confine that slave in his house, and afterwards the slave has been seized in his hand, that man shall be put to death.

20. If the slave has fled from the hand of his captor, that man shall swear by the name of God, to the owner of the slave, and shall go free.

21. If a man has broken into a house, one shall kill him before the breach and bury him in it (?).

22. If a man has carried on brigandage, and has been captured, that man shall be put to death.

23. If the brigand has not been caught, the man who has been despoiled shall recount before God what he has lost, and the city and governor in whose land and district the brigandage took place shall render back to him whatever of his was lost.

24. If it was a life, the city and governor shall pay one mina of silver to his people.

25. If in a man's house a fire has been kindled, and a man who has come to extinguish the fire has lifted up his eyes to the property of the owner of the house, and has taken the property of the owner of the house, that man shall be thrown into that fire.

26. If either a ganger or a constable, whose going on an errand of the king has been ordered, goes not, or hires a hireling and sends him in place of himself, that ganger or constable shall be put to death; his hireling shall take to himself his house.

27. If a ganger or a constable, who is diverted to the fortresses of the king, and after him one has given his field and his garden to another, and he has carried on his business, if he returns and regains his city, one shall return to him his field and his garden, and he shall carry on his business himself.

28. If a ganger or a constable who is diverted to the fortresses of the king, his son be able to carry on the business, one shall give him field and garden and he shall carry on his father's business.

29. If his son is young and is not able to carry on his father's

business, one-third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and his mother shall rear him.

30. If a ganger or a constable has left alone his field, or his garden, or his house, from the beginning of his business, and has caused it to be waste, a second after him has taken his field, his garden, or his house, and has gone about his business for three years, if he caused it to be waste, a second after him has taken his field, his garden, and his house, one shall not give them to him; he who has taken them and carried on his business shall carry it on.

31. If it is one year only and he had let it go waste, and he shall return, one shall give his field, his garden, and his house, and he shall carry on his business.

32. If a ganger or a constable who is diverted on an errand of the king's, a merchant has ransomed him and caused him to regain his city, if in his house there is means for his ransom, he shall ransom his own self; if in his house there is no means for his ransom, he shall be ransomed from the temple of his city; if in the temple of his city there is not means for his ransom, the palace shall ransom him. His field, his garden, and his house shall not be given for his ransom.

33. If either a governor or a magistrate has taken to himself the men of the levy, or has accepted and sent on the king's errand a hired substitute, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

34. If either a governor or a magistrate has taken to himself the property of a ganger, has plundered a ganger, has given a ganger to hire, has stolen from a ganger in a judgement by high-handedness, has taken to himself the gift the king has given the ganger, that governor or magistrate shall be put to death.

35. If a man has bought the cattle or sheep which the king has given to the ganger from the hand of the ganger, he shall be deprived of his money.

36. The field, garden, and house of a ganger, or constable, or a tributary, he shall not give for money.

37. If a man has bought the field, garden, or house of a ganger, a constable, or a tributary, his tablet shall be broken and he shall be deprived of his money. The field, garden, or house he shall return to its owner.

38. The ganger, constable, or tributary shall not write off to his wife, or his daughter, from the field, garden, or house of his business, and he shall not assign it for his debt.

39. From the field, garden, and house which he has bought

and acquired, he may write off to his wife or his daughter and give for his debt.

40. A votary, merchant, or foreign sojourner may sell his field, his garden, or his house; the buyer shall carry on the business of the field, garden, or house which he has bought.

41. If a man has bartered for the field, garden, or house of a ganger, constable, or tributary, and has given exchanges, the ganger, constable, or tributary shall return to his field, garden, or house, and shall keep the exchanges given him.

42. If a man has taken a field to cultivate and has not caused the corn to grow in the field, and has not done the entrusted work on the field, one shall put him to account and he shall give corn like its neighbour.

43. If he has not cultivated the field and has left it to itself, he shall give corn like its neighbour to the owner of the field, and the field he left he shall break up with hoes and shall harrow it and return to the owner of the field.

44. If a man has taken on hire an unreclaimed field for three years to open out, and has left it aside, has not opened the field, in the fourth year he shall break it up with hoes, he shall hoe it, and harrow it, and return to the owner of the field, and he shall measure out ten GUR of corn *per* GAN.

45. If a man has given his field for produce to a cultivator, and has received the produce of his field, and afterwards a thunderstorm has ravaged the field or carried away the produce, the loss is the cultivator's.

46. If he has not received the produce of his field, and has given the field either for one-half or for one-third, the corn that is in the field the cultivator and the owner of the field shall share according to the tenour of their contract.

47. If the cultivator, because in the former year he did not set up his dwelling, has assigned the field to cultivation, the owner of the field shall not condemn the cultivator; his field has been cultivated, and at harvest time he shall take corn according to his bonds.

48. If a man has a debt upon him and a thunderstorm ravaged his field or carried away the produce, or the corn has not grown through lack of water, in that year he shall not return corn to the creditor, he shall alter his tablet and he shall not give interest for that year.

49. If a man has taken money from a merchant and has given to the merchant a field planted with corn or sesame, and said to him, 'Cultivate the field, reap and take for thyself the corn and sesame

which there is,' if the cultivator causes to grow corn or sesame in the field, at the time of harvest the owner of the field forsooth shall take the corn or sesame which is in the field and shall give corn for the money which he took from the merchant, and for its interests and for the dwelling of the cultivator, to the merchant.

50. If the field was cultivated or the field of sesame was cultivated when he gave it, the owner of the field shall take the corn or sesame which is in the field and shall return the money and its interests to the merchant.

51. If he has not money to return, the sesame, according to its market price for the money and its interest which he took from the merchant, according to the standard fixed by the king, he shall give to the merchant.

52. If the cultivator has not caused corn or sesame to grow in the field, he shall not alter his bonds.

53. If a man has neglected to strengthen his bank of the canal, has not strengthened his bank, a breach has opened out itself in his bank, and the waters have carried away the meadow, the man in whose bank the breach has been opened shall render back the corn which he has caused to be lost.

54. If he is not able to render back the corn, one shall give him and his goods for money, and the people of the meadow whose corn the water has carried away shall share it.

55. If a man has opened his runnel to water and has neglected it, and the field of his neighbour the waters have carried away, he shall pay corn like his neighbour.

56. If a man has opened the waters, and the plants of the field of his neighbour the waters have carried away, he shall pay ten GUR of corn *per* GAN.

57. If a shepherd has caused the sheep to feed on the green corn, has not come to an agreement with the owner of the field, without the consent of the owner of the field has made the sheep feed off the field, the owner shall reap his fields, the shepherd who without consent of the owner of the field has fed off the field with sheep shall give over and above twenty GUR of corn *per* GAN to the owner of the field.

58. If from the time that the sheep have gone up from the meadow, and the whole flock has passed through the gate, the shepherd has laid his sheep on the field and has caused the sheep to feed off the field, the shepherd who has made them feed off the field one shall watch, and at harvest time he shall measure out sixty GUR of corn *per* GAN to the owner of the field.

59. If a man without the consent of the owner of the orchard has cut down a tree in a man's orchard, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

60. If a man has given a field to a gardener to plant a garden and the gardener has planted the garden, four years he shall rear the garden, in the fifth year the owner of the garden and the gardener shall share equally, the owner of the garden shall cut off his share and take it.

61. If the gardener has not included all the field in the planting, has left a waste place, he shall set the waste place in the share which he takes.

62. If the field which has been given him to plant he has not planted as a garden, if it was corn land, the gardener shall measure out corn to the owner of the field, like its neighbour, as produce of the field for the years that are neglected, and he shall do the ordered work on the field and return to the owner of the field.

63. If the field was unreclaimed land, he shall do the ordered work on the field and return it to the owner of the field and measure out ten GUR of corn *per* GAN for each year.

64. If a man has given his garden to a gardener to farm, the gardener as long as he holds the garden shall give to the owner of the garden two-thirds from the produce of the garden, and he himself shall take one-third.

65. If the gardener does not farm the garden and has diminished the yield, he shall measure out the yield of the garden like its neighbour.

Five columns of the monument at this point were erased and obliterated.

100. . . . the interests of the money, as much as he took, he shall write down, and when he has numbered his days he shall answer his merchant.

101. If where he has gone he has not seen prosperity, he shall make up and return the money he took, and the agent shall give to the merchant.

102. If a merchant has given to the agent money as a favour, and where he has gone he has seen loss, the full amount of money he shall return to the merchant.

103. If while he goes on his journey the enemy has made him quit whatever he was carrying, the agent shall swear by the name of God and shall go free.

104. If the merchant has given to the agent corn, wool, oil, or any sort of goods, to traffic with, the agent shall write down the price and hand over to the merchant; the agent shall take a sealed memorandum of the price which he shall give to the merchant.

105. If an agent has forgotten and has not taken a sealed memorandum of the money he has given to the merchant, money that is not sealed for, he shall not put in his accounts.

106. If an agent has taken money from a merchant and his merchant has disputed with him, that merchant shall put the agent to account before God and witnesses concerning the money taken, and the agent shall give to the merchant the money as much as he has taken threefold.

107. If a merchant has wronged an agent and the agent has returned to his merchant whatever the merchant gave him, the merchant has disputed with the agent as to what the agent gave him, that agent shall put the merchant to account before God and witnesses, and the merchant because he disputed the agent shall give to the agent whatever he has taken sixfold.

108. If a wine merchant has not received corn as the price of drink, has received silver by the great stone, and has made the price of drink less than the price of corn, that wine merchant one shall put her to account and throw her into the water.

109. If a wine merchant has collected a riotous assembly in her house and has not seized those rioters and driven them to the palace, that wine merchant shall be put to death.

110. If a votary, a lady, who is not living in the convent, has opened a wine shop or has entered a wine shop for drink, that woman one shall burn her.

111. If a wine merchant has given sixty KA of best beer at harvest time for thirst, she shall take fifty KA of corn.

112. If a man stays away on a journey, and has given silver, gold, precious stones, or treasures of his hand to a man, has caused him to take them for transport, and that man whatever was for transport, where he has transported has not given and has taken to himself, the owner of the transported object, that man, concerning whatever he had to transport and gave not, shall put him to account, and that man shall give to the owner of the transported object fivefold whatever was given him.

113. If a man has corn or money upon a man, and without consent of the owner of the corn has taken corn from the heap or from

the store, that man for taking of the corn without consent of the owner of the corn from the heap or from the store, one shall put him to account, and he shall return the corn as much as he has taken, and shall lose all that he gave whatever it be.

114. If a man has not corn or money upon a man and levies a distraint, for every single distraint he shall pay one-third of a mina.

115. If a man has corn or money upon a man and has levied a distraint, and the distress in the house of his distrainer dies a natural death, that case has no penalty.

116. If the distress has died in the house of his distrainer, of blows or of want, the owner of the distress shall put his merchant to account, and if he be the son of a freeman (that has died), his son one shall kill; if the slave of a free-man, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver, and he shall lose all that he gave whatever it be.

117. If a man a debt has seized him, and he has given his wife, his son, his daughter for the money, or has handed over to work off the debt, for three years they shall work in the house of their buyer or exploiter, in the fourth year he shall fix their liberty.

118. If he has handed over a manservant or a maidservant to work off a debt, and the merchant shall remove and sell them for money, no one can object.

119. If a debt has seized a man, and he has handed over for the money a maidservant who has borne him children, the money the merchant paid him the owner of the maid shall pay, and he shall ransom his maid.

120. If a man has heaped up his corn in a heap in the house of a man, and in the granary a disaster has taken place, or the owner of the house has opened the granary and taken the corn, or has disputed as to the total amount of the corn that was heaped up in his house, the owner of the corn shall recount his corn before God, the owner of the house shall make up and return the corn which he took and shall give to the owner of the corn.

121. If a man has heaped up corn in the house of a man, he shall give as the price of storage five KA of corn *per* GUR of corn *per annum*.

122. If a man shall give silver, gold, or anything whatever, to a man on deposit, all whatever he shall give he shall shew to witnesses and fix bonds and shall give on deposit.

123. If without witness and bonds he has given on deposit, and

where he has deposited they keep disputing him, this case has no remedy.

124. If a man has given silver, gold, or anything whatever to a man on deposit before witnesses and he has disputed with him, one shall put that man to account, and whatever he has disputed he shall make up and shall give.

125. If a man has given anything of his on deposit, and where he gave it, either by housebreaking or by rebellion, something of his has been lost, along with something of the owner of the house, the owner of the house who has defaulted all that was given him on deposit and has been lost, he shall make good and render to the owner of the goods, the owner of the house shall seek out whatever of his is lost and take it from the thief.

126. If a man has lost nothing of his, but has said that something of his is lost, has exaggerated his loss, since nothing of his is lost, his loss he shall recount before God, and whatever he has claimed he shall make up and shall give to his loss.

127. If a man has caused the finger to be pointed against a votary, or a man's wife, and has not justified himself, that man they shall throw down before the judge and brand his forehead.

128. If a man has married a wife and has not laid down her bonds, that woman is no wife.

129. If the wife of a man has been caught in lying with another male, one shall bind them and throw them into the waters. If the owner of the wife would save his wife or the king would save his servant (he may).

130. If a man has forced the wife of a man who has not known the male and is dwelling in the house of her father, and has lain in her bosom and one has caught him, that man shall be killed, the woman herself shall go free.

131. If the wife of a man her husband has accused her, and she has not been caught in lying with another male, she shall swear by God and shall return to her house.

132. If a wife of a man on account of another male has had the finger pointed at her, and has not been caught in lying with another male, for her husband she shall plunge into the holy river.

133. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is maintenance, his wife has gone out from her house and entered into the house of another, because that woman has not guarded her body,

and has entered into the house of another, one shall put that woman to account and throw her into the waters.

134. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is no maintenance, and his wife has entered into the house of another, that woman has no blame.

135. If a man has been taken captive and in his house there is no maintenance before her, his wife has entered into the house of another and has borne children, afterwards her husband has returned and regained his city, that woman shall return to her bridegroom, the children shall go after their father.

136. If a man has left his city and fled, after him his wife has entered the house of another, if that man shall return and has seized his wife, because he hated his city and fled, the wife of the truant shall not return to her husband.

137. If a man has set his face to put away his concubine who has borne him children or his wife who has granted him children, to that woman he shall return her her marriage portion and shall give her the usufruct of field, garden, and goods, and she shall bring up her children. From the time that her children are grown up, from whatever is given to her children they shall give her a share like that of one son, and she shall marry the husband of her choice.

138. If a man has put away his bride who has not borne him children, he shall give her money as much as her dowry, and shall pay her the marriage portion which she brought from her father's house, and shall put her away.

139. If there was no dowry, he shall give her one mina of silver for a divorce.

140. If he is a poor man, he shall give her one-third of a mina of silver.

141. If the wife of a man who is living in the house of her husband has set her face to go out and has acted the fool, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, one shall put her to account, and if her husband has said, 'I put her away,' he shall put her away and she shall go her way, he shall not give her anything for her divorce. If her husband has not said 'I put her away,' her husband shall marry another woman, that woman as a maidservant shall dwell in the house of her husband.

142. If a woman hates her husband and has said 'Thou shalt not possess me,' one shall enquire into her past what is her lack, and if she has been economical and has no vice, and her husband has gone

out and greatly belittled her, that woman has no blame, she shall take her marriage portion and go off to her father's house.

143. If she has not been economical, a goer about, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, that woman one shall throw her into the waters.

144. If a man has espoused a votary, and that votary has given a maid to her husband and has brought up children, that man has set his face to take a concubine, one shall not countenance that man, he shall not take a concubine.

145. If a man has espoused a votary, and she has not granted him children and he has set his face to take a concubine, that man shall take a concubine, he shall cause her to enter into his house. That concubine he shall not put on an equality with the wife.

146. If a man has espoused a votary, and she has given a maid to her husband and she has borne children, afterwards that maid has made herself equal with her mistress, because she has borne children her mistress shall not sell her for money, she shall put a mark upon her and count her among the maidservants.

147. If she has not borne children her mistress may sell her for money.

148. If a man has married a wife and a sickness has seized her, he has set his face to marry a second wife, he may marry her, his wife whom the sickness has seized he shall not put her away, in the home she shall dwell and as long as she lives he shall sustain her.

149. If that woman is not content to dwell in the house of her husband, he shall pay her her marriage portion which she brought from her father's house, and she shall go off.

150. If a man to his wife has set aside field, garden, house, or goods, has left her a sealed deed, after her husband her children shall not dispute her, the mother after her to her children whom she loves shall give, to brothers she shall not give.

151. If a woman, who is dwelling in the house of a man, her husband has bound himself that she shall not be seized on account of a creditor of her husband's, has granted a deed, if that man before he married that woman had a debt upon him, the creditor shall not seize his wife, and if that woman before she entered the man's house had a debt upon her, her creditor shall not seize her husband.

152. If from the time that that woman entered into the house of the man a debt has come upon them, both together they shall answer the merchant.

153. If a man's wife on account of another male has caused her husband to be killed, that woman upon a stake one shall set her.

154. If a man has known his daughter, that man one shall expel from the city.

155. If a man has betrothed a bride to his son and his son has known her, and he afterwards has lain in her bosom and one has caught him, that man one shall bind and cast her into the waters.

156. If a man has betrothed a bride to his son and his son has not known her, and he has lain in her bosom, he shall pay her half a mina of silver and shall pay to her whatever she brought from her father's house, and she shall marry the husband of her choice.

157. If a man, after his father, has lain in the bosom of his mother, one shall burn them both of them together.

158. If a man, after his father, has been caught in the bosom of her that brought him up, who has borne children, that man shall be cut off from his father's house.

159. If a man who has brought in a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a dowry, has looked upon another woman, and has said to his father-in-law, 'Thy daughter I will not marry,' the father of the daughter shall take to himself all that he brought him.

160. If a man has brought in a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a dowry, and the father of the daughter has said, 'My daughter I will not give thee,' he shall make up and return everything that he brought him.

161. If a man has brought in a present to the house of his father-in-law, has given a dowry, and a comrade of his has slandered him, his father-in-law has said to the claimant of the wife, 'My daughter thou shalt not espouse,' he shall make up and return all that he brought him, and his comrade shall not marry his wife.

162. If a man has married a wife and she has borne him children, and that woman has gone to her fate, her father shall have no claim on her marriage portion, her marriage portion is her children's forsooth.

163. If a man has married a wife, and she has not granted him children, that woman has gone to her fate, if his father-in-law has returned him the dowry that that man brought to the house of his father-in-law, her husband shall have no claim on the marriage portion of that woman, her marriage portion belongs to the house of her father forsooth.

164. If his father-in-law has not returned him the dowry, he shall deduct all her dowry from his marriage portion and shall return her marriage portion to the house of her father.

165. If a man has apportioned to his son, the first in his eyes, field, garden, and house, has written him a sealed deed, after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, the present his father gave him he shall take, and over and above he shall share equally in the goods of the father's house.

166. If a man, in addition to the children which he has possessed, has taken a wife, for his young son has not taken a wife, after the father has gone to his fate, when the brothers divide, from the goods of the father's house to their young brother who has not taken a wife, beside his share, they shall assign him money as a dowry and shall cause him to take a wife.

167. If a man has taken a wife, and she has borne him sons, that woman has gone to her fate, after her, he has taken to himself another woman and she has borne children, afterwards the father has gone to his fate, the children shall not share according to their mothers, they shall take the marriage portions of their mothers and shall share the goods of their father's house equally.

168. If a man has set his face to cut off his son, has said to the judge 'I will cut off my son,' the judge shall enquire into his reasons, and if the son has not committed a heavy crime which cuts off from sonship, the father shall not cut off his son from sonship.

169. If he has committed against his father a heavy crime which cuts off from sonship, for the first time the judge shall bring back his face; if he has committed a heavy crime for the second time, the father shall cut off his son from sonship.

170. If a man his wife has borne him sons, and his maidservant has borne him sons, the father in his lifetime has said to the sons which the maidservant has borne him 'my sons,' has numbered them with the sons of his wife, after the father has gone to his fate, the sons of the wife and the sons of the maidservant shall share equally in the goods of the father's house; the sons that are sons of the wife at the sharing shall choose and take.

171. And if the father in his lifetime, to the sons which the maidservant bore him, has not said 'my sons,' after the father has gone to his fate the sons of the maid shall not share with the sons of the wife in the goods of the father's house, one shall assign the maidservant and her sons freedom; the sons of the wife shall have

no claim on the sons of the maidservant for servitude, the wife shall take her marriage portion and the settlement which her husband gave her and wrote in a deed for her and shall dwell in the dwelling of her husband, as long as lives she shall enjoy, for money she shall not give, after her they are her sons' forsooth.

172. If her husband did not give her a settlement, one shall pay her her marriage portion, and from the goods of her husband's house she shall take a share like one son. If her sons worry her to leave the house, the judge shall enquire into her reasons and shall lay the blame on the sons, that woman shall not go out of her husband's house. If that woman has set her face to leave, the settlement which her husband gave her she shall leave to her sons, the marriage portion from her father's house she shall take and she shall marry the husband of her choice.

173. If that woman where she has entered shall have borne children to her later husband after that woman has died, the former and later sons shall share her marriage portion.

174. If she has not borne children to her later husband, the sons of her bridegroom shall take her marriage portion.

175. If either the slave of the palace or the slave the poor man has taken to wife the daughter of a gentleman, and she has borne sons, the owner of the slave shall have no claim on the sons of the daughter of a gentleman for servitude.

176. And if a slave of the palace or the slave of a poor man has taken to wife the daughter of a gentleman and, when he married her, with a marriage portion from her father's house she entered into the house of the slave of the palace, or of the slave of the poor man, and from the time that they started to keep house and acquired property, after either the servant of the palace or the servant of the poor man has gone to his fate, the daughter of the gentleman shall take her marriage portion, and whatever her husband and she from the time they started have acquired one shall divide in two parts and the owner of the slave shall take one-half, the daughter of a gentleman shall take one-half for her children. If the gentleman's daughter had no marriage portion, whatever her husband and she from the time they started have acquired one shall divide into two parts, and the owner of the slave shall take half, the gentleman's daughter shall take half for her sons.

177. If a widow whose children are young has set her face to enter into the house of another, without consent of a judge she shall

not enter. When she enters into the house of another the judge shall enquire into what is left of her former husband's house, and the house of her former husband to her later husband, and that woman he shall entrust and cause them to receive a deed. They shall keep the house and rear the little ones. Not a utensil shall they give for money. The buyer that has bought a utensil of a widow's sons shall lose his money and shall return the property to its owners.

178. If a lady, votary, or a vowed woman whose father has granted her a marriage portion, has written her a deed, in the deed he has written her has not, however, written her 'after her wherever is good to her to give,' has not permitted her all her choice, after the father has gone to his fate, her brothers shall take her field and her garden, and according to the value of her share shall give her corn, oil, and wool, and shall content her heart. If her brothers have not given her corn, oil, and wool according to the value of her share, and have not contented her heart, she shall give her field or her garden to a cultivator, whoever pleases her, and her cultivator shall sustain her. The field, garden, or whatever her father has given her she shall enjoy as long as she lives, she shall not give it for money, she shall not answer to another, her sonship is her brothers' forsooth.

179. If a lady, a votary, or a woman vowed, whose father has granted her a marriage portion, has written her a deed, in the deed he wrote her has written her 'after her wherever is good to her to give,' has allowed to her all her choice, after the father has gone to his fate, after her wherever is good to her she shall give, her brothers have no claim on her.

180. If a father to his daughter a votary, bride, or vowed woman, has not granted a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share in the goods of the father's house a share like one son, as long as she lives she shall enjoy, after her it is her brothers' forsooth.

181. If a father has vowed to God a votary, hierodule, or NU-BAR, and has not granted her a marriage portion, after the father has gone to his fate she shall share in the goods of the father's house one-third of her sonship share and shall enjoy it as long as she lives, after her it is her brothers' forsooth.

182. If a father, to his daughter, a votary of Marduk, of Babylon, has not granted her a marriage portion, has not written her a deed, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall share with her brothers in the goods of the father's house, one-third of her sonship

share, and shall pay no tax; a votary of Marduk, after her, shall give wherever it is good to her.

183. If a father to his daughter, a concubine, has granted her a marriage portion, has given her to a husband, has written her a deed, after the father has gone to his fate, she shall not share in the goods of the father's house.

184. If a man to his daughter, a concubine, has not granted a marriage portion, has not given her to a husband, after the father has gone to his fate, her brothers according to the capacity of the father's house, shall grant her a marriage portion and shall give her to a husband.

185. If a man has taken a young child 'from his waters' to sonship, and has reared him up, no one has any claim against that nursling.

186. If a man has taken a young child to sonship, and when he took him his father and mother rebelled, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

187. The son of a *NER-SE-GA*, a palace warder, or the son of a vowed woman no one has any claim upon.

188. If an artisan has taken a son to bring up, and has caused him to learn his handicraft, no one has any claim.

189. If he has not caused him to learn his handicraft, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

190. If a man the child whom he took to his sonship and has brought him up, has not numbered him with his sons, that nursling shall return to his father's house.

191. If a man, after a young child whom he has taken to his sonship and brought him up, has made a house for himself and acquired children, and has set his face to cut off the nursling, that child shall not go his way, the father that brought him up shall give to him from his goods one-third of his sonship, and he shall go off; from field, garden, and house he shall not give him.

192. If a son of a palace warder, or of a vowed woman, to the father that brought him up, and the mother that brought him up, has said 'thou art not my father, thou art not my mother,' one shall cut out his tongue.

193. If a son of a palace warder, or of a vowed woman, has known his father's house, and has hated the father that brought him up or the mother that brought him up, and has gone off to the house of his father, one shall tear out his eye.

194. If a man has given his son to a wet nurse, that son has died in the hands of the wet nurse, the wet nurse without consent of his father and his mother has procured another child, one shall put her to account, and because, without consent of his father and his mother, she has procured another child, one shall cut off her breasts.

195. If a man has struck his father, his hands one shall cut off.

196. If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost.

197. If he has shattered a gentleman's limb, one shall shatter his limb.

198. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye or shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver.

199. If he has caused the loss of the eye of a gentleman's servant or has shattered the limb of a gentleman's servant, he shall pay half his price.

200. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth fall out.

201. If he has made the tooth of a poor man to fall out, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

202. If a man has struck the strength of a man who is great above him, he shall be struck in the assembly with sixty strokes of a cow-hide whip.

203. If a man of gentle birth has struck the strength of a man of gentle birth who is like himself, he shall pay one mina of silver.

204. If a poor man has struck the strength of a poor man, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

205. If a gentleman's servant has struck the strength of a free-man, one shall cut off his ear.

206. If a man has struck a man in a quarrel, and has caused him a wound, that man shall swear 'I do not strike him knowing' and shall answer for the doctor.

207. If he has died of his blows, he shall swear, and if he be of gentle birth he shall pay half a mina of silver.

208. If he be the son of a poor man, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

209. If a man has struck a gentleman's daughter and caused her to drop what is in her womb, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for what was in her womb.

210. If that woman has died, one shall put to death his daughter.

211. If the daughter of a poor man through his blows he has

caused to drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay five shekels of silver.

212. If that woman has died, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

213. If he has struck a gentleman's maidservant and caused her to drop that which is in her womb, he shall pay two shekels of silver.

214. If that maidservant has died, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

215. If a doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a bronze lancet and has cured the man, or has opened an abscess of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has cured the eye of the gentleman, he shall take ten shekels of silver.

216. If he (the patient) be the son of a poor man, he shall take five shekels of silver.

217. If he be a gentleman's servant, the master of the servant shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

218. If the doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with a lancet of bronze and has caused the gentleman to die, or has opened an abscess of the eye for a gentleman with the bronze lancet and has caused the loss of the gentleman's eye, one shall cut off his hands.

219. If a doctor has treated the severe wound of a slave of a poor man with a bronze lancet and has caused his death, he shall render slave for slave.

220. If he has opened his abscess with a bronze lancet and has made him lose his eye, he shall pay money, half his price.

221. If a doctor has cured the shattered limb of a gentleman, or has cured the diseased bowel, the patient shall give five shekels of silver to the doctor.

222. If it is the son of a poor man, he shall give three shekels of silver.

223. If a gentleman's servant, the master of the slave shall give two shekels of silver to the doctor.

224. If a cow doctor or a sheep doctor has treated a cow or a sheep for a severe wound and cured it, the owner of the cow or sheep shall give one-sixth of a shekel of silver to the doctor as his fee.

225. If he has treated a cow or a sheep for a severe wound and has caused it to die, he shall give a quarter of its price to the owner of the ox or sheep.

226. If a brander without consent of the owner of the slave

has branded a slave with an indelible mark, one shall cut off the hands of that brander.

227. If a man has deceived the brander, and has caused him to brand an indelible mark on the slave, that man one shall kill him and bury him in his house, the brander shall swear, 'Not knowing I branded him,' and shall go free.

228. If a builder has built a house for a man and has completed it, he shall give him as his fee two shekels of silver *per* SAR of house.

229. If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work, and the house he built has fallen, and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death.

230. If he has caused the son of the owner of the house to die, one shall put to death the son of that builder.

231. If he has caused the slave of the owner of the house to die, he shall give slave for slave to the owner of the house.

232. If he has caused the loss of goods, he shall render back whatever he has caused the loss of, and because he did not make strong the house he built, and it fell, from his own goods he shall rebuild the house that fell.

233. If a builder has built a house for a man, and has not jointed his work, and the wall has fallen, that builder at his own cost shall make good that wall.

234. If a boatman has navigated a ship of sixty GUR for a man, he shall give him two shekels of silver for his fee.

235. If a boatman has navigated a ship for a man and has not made his work trustworthy, and in that same year that he worked that ship it has suffered an injury, the boatman shall exchange that ship or shall make it strong at his own expense and shall give a strong ship to the owner of the ship.

236. If a man has given his ship to a boatman, on hire, and the boatsman has been careless, has grounded the ship, or has caused it to be lost, the boatman shall render ship for ship to the owner.

237. If a man has hired a boatman and ship, and with corn, wool, oil, dates, or whatever it be as freight, has freighted her, that boatman has been careless and grounded the ship, or has caused what is in her to be lost, the boatman shall render back the ship which he has grounded and whatever in her he has caused to be lost.

238. If a boatman has grounded the ship of a man and has refloated her, he shall give money to half her price.

239. If a man has hired a boatman, he shall give him six GUR of corn per year.

240. If a ship that is going forward has struck a ship at anchor and has sunk her, the owner of the ship that has been sunk whatever he has lost in his ship shall recount before God, and that of the ship going forward which sunk the ship at anchor shall render to him his ship and whatever of his was lost.

241. If a man has taken an ox on distraint, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

242. If a man has hired a working ox for one year, he shall pay four GUR of corn as its hire.

243. If a milch cow, he shall give three GUR of corn to its owner.

244. If a man has hired an ox or sheep and a lion has killed it in the open field, that loss is for its owner forsooth.

245. If a man has hired an ox and through neglect or by blows has caused it to die, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render.

246. If a man has hired an ox and has crushed its foot or has cut its nape, ox for ox to the owner of the ox he shall render.

247. If a man has hired an ox and has caused it to lose its eye, he shall pay half its price to the owner of the ox.

248. If a man has hired an ox, and has crushed its horn, cut off its tail, or pierced its nostrils, he shall pay a quarter of its price.

249. If a man has hired an ox, and God has struck it and it has died, the man who has hired the ox shall swear before God and shall go free.

250. If a wild bull in his charge has gored a man and caused him to die, that case has no remedy.

251. If the ox has pushed a man, by pushing has made known his vice, and he has not blunted his horn, has not shut up his ox, and that ox has gored a man of gentle birth and caused him to die, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

252. If a gentleman's servant, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver.

253. If a man has hired a man to reside in his field and has furnished him seed, has entrusted him the oxen and harnessed them for cultivating the field—if that man has stolen the corn or plants, and they have been seized in his hands, one shall cut off his hands.

254. If he has taken the seed, worn out the oxen, from the seed which he has hoed he shall restore.

255. If he has hired out the oxen of the man or has stolen the

corn and has not caused it to grow in the field, that man one shall put him to account and he shall measure out sixty GUR of corn *per* GAN of land.

256. If his compensation he is not able to pay, one shall remove the oxen from that field.

257. If a man has hired a harvester, he shall give him eight GUR of corn per year.

258. If a man has hired an ox-driver, he shall give him six GUR of corn per year.

259. If a man has stolen a watering machine from the meadow, he shall give five shekels of silver to the owner of the watering machine.

260. If he has stolen a watering bucket or a harrow, he shall pay three shekels of silver.

261. If a man has hired a herdsman for the cows or a shepherd for the sheep, he shall give him eight GUR of corn *per annum*.

262. If a man, ox, or sheep to [this section is defaced].

263. If he has caused an ox or sheep which was given him to be lost, ox for ox, sheep for sheep, he shall render to their owner.

264. If a herdsman who has had cows or sheep given him to shepherd, has received his hire, whatever was agreed, and his heart was contented, has diminished the cows, diminished the sheep, lessened the offspring, he shall give offspring and produce according to the tenour of his bonds.

265. If a shepherd to whom cows and sheep have been given him to breed, has falsified and changed their price, or has sold them, one shall put him to account, and he shall render cows and sheep to their owner tenfold what he has stolen.

266. If in a sheepfold a stroke of God has taken place or a lion has killed, the shepherd shall purge himself before God, and the accident to the fold the owner of the fold shall face it.

267. If a shepherd has been careless and in a sheepfold caused a loss to take place, the shepherd shall make good the fault of the loss which he has caused to be in the fold and shall pay cows or sheep and shall give to their owner.

268. If a man has hired an ox, for threshing, twenty KA of corn is its hire.

269. If he has hired an ass, for threshing, ten KA of corn is its hire.

270. If he has hired a calf (goat?), for threshing, one KA of corn is its hire.

271. If a man has hired oxen, a wagon, and its driver, he shall give one hundred and eighty KA of corn *per diem*.

272. If a man has hired a wagon by itself, he shall give forty KA of corn *per diem*.

273. If a man has hired a labourer, from the beginning of the year till the fifth month, he shall give six SE of silver *per diem*; from the sixth month to the end of the year, he shall give five SE of silver *per diem*.

274. If a man shall hire an artisan—

- (a) the hire of a five SE of silver
 - (b) the hire of a brickmaker five SE of silver
 - (c) the hire of a tailor five SE of silver
 - (d) the hire of a stone-cutter SE of silver
 - (e) the hire of a SE of silver
 - (f) the hire of a SE of silver
 - (g) the hire of a carpenter four SE of silver
 - (h) the hire of a four SE of silver
 - (i) the hire of a SE of silver
 - (j) the hire of a builder SE of silver
- per diem he shall give.*

275. If a man has hired a (boat?) *per diem*, her hire is three SE of silver.

276. If a man has hired a fast ship, he shall give two and a half SE of silver *per diem* as her hire.

277. If a man has hired a ship of sixty GUR, he shall give one-sixth of a shekel of silver *per diem* as her hire.

278. If a man has bought a manservant or a maidservant, and he has not fulfilled his month and the *bennu* sickness has fallen upon him, he shall return him to the seller, and the buyer shall take the money he paid.

279. If a man has bought a manservant or a maidservant and has a complaint, his seller shall answer the complaint.

280. If a man has bought in a foreign land the manservant or the maidservant of a man, when he has come into the land, and the owner of the manservant or the maidservant has recognized his manservant or his maidservant, if the manservant or maidservant are natives without price he shall grant them their freedom.

281. If they are natives of another land the buyer shall tell out before God the money he paid, and the owner of the manservant or the

maidservant shall give to the merchant the money he paid, and shall recover his manservant or his maidservant.

282. If a slave has said to his master 'Thou art not by master,' as his slave one shall put him to account and his master shall cut off his ear.

ADDENDA.

In volume I are found the following additions which are not included in the indices.

	PAGE
Inscription of Sennacherib.....	412
Sennacherib, Annals	416
Cyrus, Cylinder Inscription	418
Rosetta Stone	420
Moabite Stone	423
Nebuchadnezzar, Birs-Nimrud Inscription.....	424
Babylonian Lawsuit	425
Egibi Tablets	427
Babylonian Contracts	428
Assyrian Contracts	429
Babylonian Private Contract	430
Private Will of Sennacherib.....	432
Legend of the Tower of Babel.....	433
Overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah.....	434
Assyrian Correspondence	435
Assyrian Inscriptions	435
Assyrian Astronomical Tablets.....	436
Egyptian Marriage Contract.....	437
Revolt in Heaven.....	438
Hammurabi Code	439

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